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A
SHORT VIEW
OF THE
POLITICAL LIFE
AND
TRANSACTIONS
Of a late Right Honourable
COMMONER.

To which is added,

A FULL REFUTATION of an invidious Pamphlet,
supposed to be published under the Sanction
of a very popular Nobleman, entitled, “ An
Enquiry into the CONDUCT of a late Right
Honourable COMMONER.”

L O N D O N :

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The POLITICAL LIFE, &c.

THE author of the following sheets is a man who can see an error in his greatest friend; and do justice to the merit of his greatest enemy. Mr. Pitt has been for many years a most exalted character, in his opinion; and yet he is far from thinking but what Mr. Pitt has imperfections. His opinion, however, of this great man, he would have modestly confined to himself, had not the favours with which the sovereign has just been pleased to distinguish him, raised a clamour no less unjust than universal through the kingdom, and rendered it absolutely necessary to remind the public that the earl of Chatham has acted in no manner derogatory to the consequence of Mr. Pitt.

The public prints, for some days past, have been replete with low-minded malice, and ignorant scurrility; the conductors of the press, that exalted palladium of our lives and liberties, have basely deserted the design of their own institution, and sought, by every despicable artifice, to wound the character of a personage, whom they themselves have for several years past been celebrating as the most perfect criterion of patriotic virtue; infamously espousing those prejudices which it was their immediate duty to condemn, they readily gave room to every shaft, either of a repining envy, or a disappointed malevolence; and sacrificed both their justice as writers, and their generosity as men, for the important consideration of raising their respective papers an additional half quire, and gaining a new set of readers at the Horse-shoe and Magpye, to her Goose and Gridiron. But though the

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unmanly, the scandalous machinations of these worthy gentlemen, have made some impression on the minds of the unthinking and the credulous, 'tis to be hoped that the candid and the intelligent, will still exert a right of judging for themselves; and that the crude, indigested representations of a news-paper compiler, will be treated with that contempt which is due to the general contraction of the author's heart, and the customary narrowness of his abilities.

That the reader, however, may not here imagine I design to trespass upon his patience with a dull unmeaning exclamation against the little-minded venality of news-paper essayists, I shall, in the course of the following sheets, take a retrospect of Mr. Pitt's conduct, from his first appearance in a public character, down to the present time; and this I shall do with all the brevity I can, as the kingdom requires little more than a bare mention of occurrences, to be put in mind of its obligations. I shall next consider the foundation of the present popular cry against him, and conclude with some animadversions of a general nature, which, I flatter myself, will not be totally lost upon the considerate part of the public.

Mr. Pitt, for so I shall call him, as the name most familiar both to myself and my readers, is grandson to Mr. Pitt, formerly an East-India governor, and surnamed Diamond Pitt, from a very large diamond which he brought home with him to England. The present object of our enquiry, was born in Dorsetshire, but was a younger son; his education was liberal, though his patrimony was small; and, perhaps, to the smallness of that patrimony his rise may be attributed, since it obliged him to a proper exertion of his extraordinary abilities.

Discovering a very enterprizing genius, at a very early age he obtained a seat in the House of Commons; but having scarcely more than what afforded a parliamentary qualification, his friends procured him a cornetcy of horse, which was no unseasonable addition to his circumstances. The profits arising from his commission, however, were of no long duration; for that exalted principle of independence, which has ever continued to influence his actions, leading him to support a motion in the year 1737, for encreasing the annual allowance of his royal highness Frederick, prince of Wales, he fell under the displeasure of the ministry, and his little cornetcy was infamously taken from him by Walpole.

The reduction of his circumstances, however, betrayed him into no acts of littleness; and, though he was of an age in which the generality of young fellows launch out into extravagant dissipations, he confined himself, with a fortitude that did him the greatest honour, within the scanty limits of his income—and exerted himself with such success against the administration in his parliamentary character, as procured him the general admiration of his country.

Indeed, it was no way surprising, to find a man possessed of such talents for elocution, a masterly orator; for, join'd to a very comprehensive genius, Mr. Pitt was endued with a manner irresistibly convictive; his voice was manly and full; his countenance keen and expressive; his conceptions just and important; and his diction so astonishingly powerful, that it rolled with the impetuosity of a torrent, and

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instantly overwhelmed the most formidable of his enemies. If he wanted any requisite, it was that elegance of address which we signify by the term *grace*---but what he suffered in this respect was amply made up by his energy; and, while others gradually stole upon our attention, he entered into an argument at once with such a degree of weight and perspicuity, as never failed to command it.

In the year 1740, when the Seamen's Bill was agitated in the house, Mr. Pitt, with several other patriotic members, strenuously opposed the institution of a law so diametrically opposite to all the principles of the British constitution. In this famous debate, Mr. Pitt signalized himself so remarkably, that Mr. Horace Walpole thought proper to attack him with an ungentlemanly personalty of sarcasm, reflecting upon his youth, and saying, that the investigation of truth was but little promoted by the affectation of a theatrical gesture, an elevated tone, and a pompous arrangement of words. To this, Mr. Pitt immediately replied, "that he would not undertake to determine whether youth could be justly imputed to any man as a reproach; but he insisted, that the wretch who had seen the consequence of reiterated errors, and still continued to blunder, and whose age only added obstinacy to stupidity, did not deserve that his grey hairs should exempt him from the universal scorn of the kingdom; much less did the hoary sinner merit the esteem of mankind, who, as he advanced in age, receded from virtue, and increased the enormity of his crimes as he was divested of temptation; profited his principles for money, which he
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“ never could enjoy, and spent the miserable
 “ dregs of his life in the destruction of his
 “ country.”

Mr. Pitt, though he had rendered himself not a little obnoxious to the court, was, nevertheless, when the political Castor and Pollux took upon them the principal direction of affairs, in the memorable year 1746, appointed to the lucrative *fine cure* of an Irish Vice-Treasurer-ship; and, not long after, promoted to the still more profitable employment of Paymaster-general to the Forces, and sworn in a Privy Counsellor. In time of war, the Paymaster-ship of the Forces is generally looked upon as the most advantageous office in the kingdom; and even in time of peace, 'tis seldom rated at less than a clear 5000l. a year. Yet narrow as Mr. Pitt's private fortune was at that period known to be, he discharged the duties of this place with a degree of disinterestedness that forced his very enemies to admire him; abridging a number of very considerable perquisites, which had for many years been granted to his predecessors; and setting an example of moderation to all cotemporary and succeeding ministers, which we are infinitely sorry to inform the reader produced scarce a single instance of imitation. The whole world applauded the action; but few cared to copy it: for though all might be fond of popularity, there were none who would purchase it at so great an expence. The kingdom, however, from the moment it saw such convincing proofs of his integrity, distinguished him by the most implicit marks of confidence and affection; and it was enough ever after, to render an adminis-

tration suspected, if he was not appointed to some very principal employment.

The paltry peace of Aix-la-Chapelle being quickly followed by a recommencement of hostilities, sir Thomas Robinson resigned the seals as Secretary of State, and his late majesty, bestowing them on Mr. Henry Fox (the present lord Holland) a gentleman between whom and Mr. Pitt an opposition had almost constantly subsisted, the latter threw up his Pay-master-generalship, not choosing to act in a subordinate capacity, to a man who pursued a system of politics so evidently opposite to what he considered the public welfare. Besides, he probably thought it an indignity, that his professed opponent should be lifted above him in the administration, after he had discharged the offices which he hitherto held, so highly to the satisfaction of the whole kingdom. Be this latter suggestion as it may, Mr. Pitt had no reason whatsoever to suppose that any compliment was intended to him by the promotion of Mr. Fox. That minister coincided with the king's favourite view, the defence of Hanover; and, therefore, naturally stood high in the esteem of a sovereign who was influenced by so strong a predilection for the place of his nativity. Whereas, Mr. Pitt had opposed all continental connections, with so unceasing a sedulity, and thwarted the crown with such boldness, in the most tender of all its wishes, that he could not be insensible how personally unacceptable he was at that time in the eye of his majesty. His resignation, therefore, was no less prudent on the one hand, than it was spirited on the other; and was perfectly consistent with

with that dignity of sentiment which he had laid down as the unalterable guide of his actions.

The measures taken, during Mr. Fox's administration, to carry on the war against France, were, in general, so miserably planned, and so wretchedly executed, that the affairs of Great Britain wore a most alarming aspect, and nothing but terror and surprize were seen in the remotest corners of the kingdom. Petrified almost with the apprehension of an instant invasion, an army of mercenaries were brought over from Germany to protect us; and, while every generous-minded Englishman was inflam'd with an honest indignation at such an insult, both upon the courage and the loyalty of the kingdom, we received the agreeable intelligence of having lost Minorca in the Mediterranean, and Oswego in America: add to all this, that the able and upright Mr. Legge was turned out of the Exchequer, where he presided with so much reputation, for advising a judicious change of public measures, and laying the national distresses to their proper account.

The people of Great Britain, who share the common infirmities of all exalted minds, I mean that of being extravagantly elated at the smallest dawn of success, and severely mortified at the least stroke of adversity, were, at this period, outrageous in their complaints against the ministry. The city of London set an example to all the other corporations, in a most spirited address to their representatives, loudly lamenting the posture of public affairs, and earnestly exhorting their members to make a minute enquiry into the cause of the general distress. In short, as the blunders of the administration were notorious,
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the murmur of the people was universal; and Mr. Fox, finding himself utterly unable to weather the rising storm, he shewed one act of prudence, by retiring from the helm, and suffering the management of the vessel to be placed in much more judicious hands.

On Mr. Fox's resignation, the whole system of the ministry being unhinged, Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge were, by the unanimous voice of the nation, called into power, and the hopes of Great Britain once more began to revive. The gleam, however, was but of a very short duration; for the ministers, resolutely bent against sacrificing the blood and treasure of the nation, in a quarrel with which it had no manner of connexion, soon disoblged the sovereign by refusing to cover his Electoral Dominions; and their enemies naturally made use of every opportunity to represent their patriotic regard for the interest of Great Britain, as a want of inclination to serve him. The mind once soured is but too apt to imbibe an unfavourable impression; and, in proportion as we are thwarted in some darling expectation, in proportion we are ready to believe the insinuations of envy or prejudice, against the person who prevents that expectation from being indulged. The best are not always proof against this infirmity; and fatal experience unhappily convinces us, that monarchs are no more exempted from failings than the humblest classes of men. Every day, therefore, the sovereign was gratified with some fresh complaint against his new ministers; they were painted as ignorant and presumptuous; and the character found but too implicit a belief: nevertheless, Mr. Pitt still continued under all the disadvantages,

disadvantages, not only of a powerful faction against him, but even under a certainty of having forfeited the Royal Favour, to labour in the service of the public. He knew the prince had been misled into an erroneous system of politics, by the infamous servility of former ministers; he also knew that, to promote his interest as king of Great Britain, was infinitely more to his majesty's welfare, than to study for his advancement as elector of Hanover. On these accounts, like a faithful subject to his king, and an honest citizen to his country, he prosecuted such measures as were best calculated for the mutual happiness of both; and notwithstanding all the opposition he met with, the Militia Bill, which was considered as laying the axe to the root of all continental connections, was fortunately carried, during the short duration of his power, through the indefatigable assiduity, and unremitting fortitude of the minister. By means of this salutary bill, the necessity of a standing army was entirely removed, the fear of an invasion rendered totally chimerical, and the kingdom put in a constitutional capacity of maintaining her rights, and enforcing her laws against every foreign or domestic enemy.

Mr. Fox resigned the seals of Secretary the latter end of October, 1756; and on the fourth of December following, Mr. Pitt was appointed in his room. Three days before this appointment, the foreign mercenaries were ordered home by his majesty's directions; but the king foreseeing that the British war with France would inevitably lead the French to make an attack upon his German territories, he sent Mr. Pitt with a message to the House of Commons, on the 17th
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February, 1757, to acquaint them, that the most formidable preparations were making by France against his electoral dominions, and to tell them that he hoped their affection would not only assist him in maintaining an army of observation, but put him also in a condition of fulfilling his engagements with the king of Prussia. Mr. Pitt delivered the message as a minister, but as an honest Englishman still continued his opposition to continental connections. This is, perhaps, the most extraordinary instance of independency to be met with in the annals of history. Other ministers have endeavoured to steal a prince into such opinions as corresponded with their own, by indulging him in some favourite articles; but it was for Mr. Pitt to be above every little artifice of that nature, and to set succeeding ages a glorious example, that the frown of a sovereign is a very insignificant circumstance, when compared to the welfare of a country. His behaviour in this respect could not be overlooked at Court; and accordingly, on the 5th of April, he was divested of the Seal, and his enemies once more re-instated in the chief direction of affairs, to the unspeakable mortification of the whole kingdom. Mr. Legge resigned in a few days after Mr. Pitt's dismissal, and Great Britain again saw herself under the government of those very men to whose corruption or incapacity she owed the principal part of her misfortunes.

The dismissal of Mr. Pitt was, perhaps, the most impolitic step which could be taken by his enemies. It raised him still higher in the public estimation; and nothing could be a severer reflection on the conduct of the court, than the addresses which were sent from all parts of the nation

nation to him and Mr. Legge, accompanied frequently with the respectful compliment of a freedom and a gold box. Where the sentiments of the court were so widely different from the language of the people, it was impossible that tranquility could be expected. The people hated their ministers; rejoiced in the distraction which reigned through their councils; and even expressed a satisfaction to see all their measures unattended with success. At length, after a series of repeated misfortunes, the public exigencies obliged the court to apply a second time to the very men whom it had so lately dismissed with contempt; and accordingly Mr. Pitt, on the 29th of June, 1757, was restored to the office of principal secretary; and, three days after, Mr. Legge was reinstated in his chancellorship of the Exchequer; the first seat at the Treasury board was given to the duke of Newcastle; the privy-seal to lord Temple; while lord Anson was made first commissioner of the Admiralty, and the paymaster-generalship trusted with Mr. Fox. By this coalition the public tranquility was recovered; and the nation seemed to gain new life, when they saw the principal management of their affairs in the hands of a man upon whose wisdom and probity they could safely depend.

The reader is now advancing pretty fast to a period in which Mr. Pitt will shine with a degree of astonishing brightness; and in which the nation will also be found at a pinnacle of glory infinitely superior to the most celebrated æra's of the Greek or Roman empires. Alexander and Cæsar, to be sure, conquered several extensive kingdoms, and, with a comparative handful of men, overthrew many numerous armies; but Alexander and Cæsar generally fought with

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people who were utterly unacquainted with the systems of war, and had nothing but rude uncultivated force to oppose the judicious regulations of masterly generals and experienced veterans. Unless in the civil wars, they had little more than a mighty mob to encounter, who fell as easy a sacrifice to conduct and discipline, as the prodigious armies of Indostan now fall to the little troops of the East-India company: whereas, during our contention with France, we not only had superior numbers to combat, but these numbers were even composed of men regularly trained up in the nicest arts of war, and, if any thing, more expert in discipline than ourselves. Our conquests, of course, were the more difficult, and, in proportion to that difficulty, we must naturally estimate our reputation.

One of the first plans which Mr. Pitt undertook after he had been thus re-established in power, was, to carry the war into France, and, instead of suffering the people of England to languish under the terrors of an invasion, to animate them at once, by a spirited descent on the coasts of the enemy. This plan was undoubtedly a very good one, as it was not only calculated to raise the drooping spirit of the nation, but to crush the French naval power, which at that time was very formidable, and which, in fact, was what alone could reasonably fill us with any apprehension. Accordingly an armament was equipped and sent out, under the command of Sir Edward Hawke and Sir John Mordaunt, who were directed to sail for Basque Road and to make an attack upon the town of Rochefort. The expedition, however, failed, and 'tis believed through the machinations of Mr. Pitt's enemies; for when, after the com-
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mander of the land forces had been acquitted by a court martial of any misbehaviour, an attempt was made in the city towards obtaining a parliamentary enquiry into the cause of the miscarriage, the lord-mayor and common-council were over-ruled by a message from the king, and the affair was suffered to die away gradually with the indignation of the public.

But though the expedition miscarried, the very design of it awaked some of the European potentates from the lethargy in which they had for some time been unaccountably absorbed. A treaty was immediately concluded between Denmark and Sweden for their mutual security, and they even ordered a fleet into the Baltic for fear an English squadron should be sent towards the north. The Dutch and the Italians took every necessary precaution for their safety; while Spain and Portugal, trusting to their commercial intercourses with Great Britain, and seeing France sufficiently employed,

“ Laugh’d at the tempest, and enjoy’d the storm.”

The parliament meeting on the first of December, a unanimity appeared in that august assembly with which it had been unacquainted for many years. Mr. Pitt’s enemies saw him at a pinnacle of favour with the public, from which it would be very difficult to shake him; and therefore, when they found him too formidable as an enemy, they wisely endeavoured to engage him as a friend. This produced a firm coalition in the council, and the harmony of the council very naturally diffused itself through all the parliamentary transactions. This, together

with the good opinion which the king about this time began to entertain of Mr. Pitt, on account of his hearty aversion to the French, gave a new turn to affairs, and laid a basis for that prodigious chain of successes which distinguished the course of his administration.

It was an easy matter for a minister of Mr. Pitt's penetration, thus happily situated, to see that the only proper way of dealing with the French was to employ the naval force of Great Britain, in which the main strength of the nation might be properly said to consist; he therefore sent out a fleet on the 19th of February under the command of admiral Boscawen, to attempt the reduction of Louisbourg, as the enemy had no force of equal strength, nor any commander of equal reputation, in that part of the world. The French were no sooner acquainted with the destination of Mr. Boscawen than they equipped a large fleet to counteract the plan of the British minister. On the first notice of this circumstance, Mr. Pitt ordered admiral Osborn, with a squadron into the Straits; upon which, the French, determined to do their utmost for the relief of an important fortress, got a second fleet ready at Toulon, which was commanded by Mons. du Quesne, to strengthen the other squadron under the direction of Mr. de la Clue, in order to force a passage through the Straits, that Mr. Boscawen's expedition might be disappointed in its intended effect. Mr. de la Clue having sailed before Du Quesne's squadron was ready, now lay blocked up in Carthagen, by admiral Osborne: Du Quesne's coming up to the relief of his colleague, fell in with the English fleet, and was attacked in his own ship, the Foudroyant, of 80 guns, by captain Gardiner, of

of the Monmouth, a British vessel of 64 guns, who, 'tis generally imagined, would have taken him singly, had not two other English ships come up, and induced him to strike before he was reduced to the last extremity. The gallant captain Gardiner lost his life in the midst of this engagement, but his ship suffered little on that account, being bravely fought by his first lieutenant, Mr. Carkett. The Orphee, another French ship, was also taken, and the Oriflamme was driven ashore on the Spanish coast. By this means, De la Clue not being able to force his way through the Straits, admiral Boscawen's expedition was crowned with all the success that could possibly be expected, and the governor of Louisbourg surrendered on the 26th of July. This conquest was scarcely atchieved, when St. John's also submitted; and, notwithstanding some inconsiderable checks which our troops received on the continent of America, Fort Frontenac, on the river St. Lawrence, surrendered to colonel Bradstreet, on the 27th of August; and, on the 25th of November following, Fort du Quesne, now Pittsburg, was taken by the arms of Great Britain, under the command of brigadier Forbes.

The nation, now warmed with the sun-shine of success, every where extolled the measures of the minister; and the minister, indefatigable to merit their approbation, was incessantly laying schemes to deserve it; so that the public had not begun to cool in their applause, before the depredations which he made at St. Malo and Cherbourg acquired him fresh reputation, and struck an additional terror thro' the enemy. Indeed, the damage which we did the French Coasts, was effected with some loss to ourselves; for, by some injudicious

dicious delay in the re-embarkation of the troops at Saint Cas, the duc d'Aguillon, governor of Brittany, assembled a considerable body of forces, and came down time enough to attack the rear guard, commanded by general Dury; who, for some time, maintained his ground with an astonishing resolution; but being overpowered by numbers, and his ammunition entirely expended, many of his men leaped into the sea, through despair, and were drowned; the general himself, at length, following the same example; while all the rest were made prisoners, except a very few, who found means to escape to their boats. Our whole loss in this unlucky affair was about 1300; but as the smallest miscarriage constantly dispirits the people of England, it threw a gloom over the whole nation, which was not dissipated till the warm sun-shine of several successive victories happily cleared it up.

Hitherto, all Mr. Pitt's operations were directed entirely for the benefit of England, and no intention whatsoever appeared of interfering with the affairs of Germany, though matters on the Continent now wore but a disagreeable aspect; for the convention at Closter Seven had been concluded by the duke of Cumberland; and the king of Prussia, notwithstanding some astonishing strokes of generalship, and some very brilliant successes, was, nevertheless, in a very critical situation; he gained a battle, indeed, frequently; yet his very victories often plunged him in distress; for his enemies found means to bring fresh armies in the field, while it was with incredible difficulty he could get recruits to fill up the devastations which were occasioned by his very success. Prince Ferdinand, of Brunswic, who took the command of the Hanoverian forces
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in the duke of Cumberland's room, was much in the same circumstances; he had more than once defeated the French, but he had no sooner gained a victory in one place, than a numerous army started up to oppose him in another; so that, though he was most commonly fortunate, his troops were, nevertheless, gradually lessened; and every new exploit was nothing more than a fresh approach to inevitable destruction.

The people of Great Britain, naturally generous, were now fired with an enthusiasm for glory, which entirely got the better of all their former repugnance to continental connections; so they conquered the French, they were utterly regardless at what price they purchased a victory; and, fired with an irresistible admiration at the heroism of his Prussian majesty, they were insensibly led into a concern with his affairs, through an exalted idea of his character. The sober sentiments of prudence were, therefore, totally disregarded; it became as popular now to assist the electorate of Hanover, as it had lately been popular to desert it; and the whole nation seemed frantic to sacrifice its real interests, for what was considered the advancement of its reputation. Mr. Pitt ~~was~~ the temper of the kingdom; and, whether he thought it necessary to indulge the public in their wishes, or had really changed his own sentiments; or whether he thought that, by relaxing in some points from the severity of his former system, he should the more readily induce his majesty into measures more immediately calculated for the benefit of the kingdom, is not my business to determine: all that becomes me to say, is, that a treaty was concluded with the king of Prussia, much to
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the advantage of that prince. That subsidies were liberally granted to many of the petty states on the continent, and a considerable body of troops was sent over, under the command of his grace the duke of Marlborough, to re-inforce prince Ferdinand. These various engagements could not but produce a variety of public burdens; however, every body chearfully acquiesced, and the lustre of our glory rendered us utterly insensible to any concern about our circumstances.

Having thus given a cursory sketch of what was absolutely necessary to mention, relative to the first dispositions which Mr. Pitt made to carry on the war; I shall by no means fatigue the reader with a circumstantial account of the manner, in which the various battles by land, or the various engagements by sea, were conducted. The reader will possibly imagine that I have been already sufficiently minute; I shall therefore leave our historians to give these particulars at large, and only take notice that his measures were in general so wisely planned, and so vigorously executed, that the whole French power was ruined, not only in America, but in Asia and Africa; the British reputation raised to a pitch of glory, infinitely beyond the most celebrated eras in the annals of this country. Such was the situation of our affairs, when the demise of his late majesty opened a new scene, and introduced a nobleman into a principal share of the administration, who had, till this event, continued totally excluded from the public eye; but who ever since has been an object of general execration in every corner of the kingdom,

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On the accession of his present majesty, Mr. Pitt's abilities were too much respected, and his importance too well known, not to secure him in the possession of his employments, especially as the new monarch, with a magnanimity which charmed the whole nation, declared his intention to pursue the same political system with regard to the war, which had been adopted during the reign of his illustrious grandfather. But though Mr. Pitt continued in office for some time after, it was unhappily too evident, that his influence began very quickly to decline. His colleague, Mr. Legge, was dismissed immediately after the commencement of the new reign, and his dismissal was generally ascribed to the influence of the favourite, whose good opinion he generously scorned to obtain by any unmanly concessions, either in his public or private capacity; be this as it may, all the great officers of the crown saw very clearly where the current of royal favour was principally inclined to run; and few of them had courage, or virtue enough, to resist the temptations with which it was manifestly fraught. They therefore endeavoured to watch its course with the most inflexible assiduity; and having once discovered the happy channel through which it was to be conveyed, they instantly quitted every other attachment, and forgot the happiness of their country in a solicitude for their own immediate emolument.

One of the first proofs which Mr. Pitt received of his being deserted, was in a measure which he strenuously advised, and which fatal experience shortly after convinced the most obstinate of his enemies, to be as salutary as it

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was sensible. This was the sending four ships of the line to Newfoundland, which was at that time almost defenceless, and which the meanest armament that could possibly steal through the seas must have instantly reduced. His advice was disregarded; the ships were not sent out, and Mr Pitt had scarcely quitted the administration, before the place, to the irreparable injury of our merchants, was found to be in the hands of our enemies.

While Mr. Pitt's influence was thus visibly declining in the British councils, the French, who now had a new game to play, found it expedient, through the mediation of Spain, to open a negotiation of peace with England. Accordingly, Mr. Bussy came over to London, and Mr. Stanley was sent to Paris. France, however, at the same time that she seemed to enter into this negotiation with the greatest air of cordiality; nevertheless exerted herself with an astonishing dexterity, to draw Spain into an alliance, offensive and defensive, with her, in case the court of London did not allow her such conditions of peace as she thought proper to demand. As she had great reason to think of succeeding with Spain, it is generally imagined that Mr. Bussy was directed to protract the treaty as much as possible; and Mr. Pitt, justly suspecting that there was some underhand purposes to answer, from the continued prevarication of the French agent, at length broke off all correspondence with him, and sent directions to Mr. Stanley to quit France immediately.

Mr. Pitt, who all along suspected that France and Spain were more closely connected than either

either seemed inclined to acknowledge, was confirmed in his opinion of this circumstance by a memorial which Mr. Buffy on renewing his negociation of the peace, presented to the British court, signifying, that his Catholic majesty desired that the same moment which put an end to the disputes between France and us, might also adjust the differences which had for some time subsisted between him and the English nation. These differences between Spain and Great Britain, were occasioned by certain captures, which the former pretended the latter had made, highly derogatory to the dignity of her flag; by the settlements which the English had made in the bay of Honduras, and by the obstinacy with which they denied the subjects of his Catholic majesty a right of fishing on the banks of Newfoundland.

Let the Spanish complaints be what they would, and let us even allow that they had sufficient cause to find fault, nevertheless it could not but appear extraordinary to see the French minister blending the affairs of that kingdom with the business of his own court, as if they had but one common interest; and this at a time too, when Spain had an ambassador of her own, residing on purpose at London, to take care of her concerns, and to manage every transaction relative to his nation with the English ministry. Mr. Pitt therefore sent orders to lord Bristol, our ambassador at Madrid, to represent with firmness the irregularity of which the Spanish minister was guilty in thus officiously meddling with the business of a negotiation that no way concerned the interest of his court. The earl of Bristol executed

his commission in a manner that did equal credit to his spirit and his understanding; but the Spanish minister, so far from an inclination to acknowledge the least mistake, openly justified the propriety of his conduct; indeed he continued to express sentiments of the highest respect for Great Britain; yet, while he did this, he made no scruple whatever to declare the strongest attachment to its enemies; so that Mr. Pitt, finding there was no dependence to be had upon his answers, resolved to send the fleet which he had provided for the attack of Martinico, without loss of time, to the Havannah; and to prepare a powerful armament likewise to cruise along the coast of Spain itself, that the minister might either come to an explicit declaration of his pacific intentions, in the face of all Europe; or suffer the just indignation of a country, which he had so perfidiously designed to attack in open violation of all public ties and national engagements. Mr. Pitt was the more eager to seize this occasion of executing his plan, because if the Spaniard should turn out the enemy he suspected, England would have a fair opportunity of intercepting the annual money ships, which Spain was soon to expect from its West-Indian world; and consequently not only incapacitate his Catholic majesty, at the very first step, from being able to act with any vigour; but put it into our power to fight him with his own treasure; of which the moment he was deprived it would be utterly impossible for him to give the least assistance to France; and even impossible to prevent us from making continual depredations on his own territories.

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Some people have indeed imagined, that a mere suspicion of the Spanish faith could by no means justify Mr. Pitt in extorting a reitreated promise of neutrality from the nation; but Mr. Pitt, it is generally believed, had more than suspicion for the ground work of his conduct; and it is but justice to own, that the war which we declared against Spain immediately after his resignation, is an incontestible argument in support of this belief. He had by this time, either received a positive information, or an express copy of the celebrated treaty between France and Spain, called the *Family Compact*; and saw, of consequence, that a rupture with Spain would be unavoidable. The formalities of repeated negotiations, were not therefore so much to be regarded as the welfare of his country. It might have been delicate, indeed, to argue a second or a third time with the Spanish minister, but I do not think it would have been prudent; he was already the aggressor; and, where the honour, or the interest, of a kingdom like ours was at stake, the only way of reasoning to any purpose was to think upon revenge.

Armed with these causes, therefore, for a quarrel with Spain, and satisfied that it was then in his power to make her smart in the severest manner for her perfidy, it is no wonder that Mr. Pitt, in very vehement terms, should advise an instant declaration of war. He said, "That this was the only time for humbling
 " the whole house of Bourbon; that, if we suf-
 " fered this opportunity to escape us, we might
 " never possibly have another; and that, if he
 " could not carry so salutary a measure, he
 should

“ should not think of sitting any longer in
 “ council. He acknowledged, in the politest
 “ terms, the assistance which he had received dur-
 “ ing his administration, from the servants of *the*
 “ *late* king; but that, as he considered himself
 “ not more the servant of the crown, than the
 “ minister of the people by whom he had
 “ been called into power, he thought it
 “ imprudent to continue any longer in an
 “ office, which made him responsible for mea-
 “ sures which he was not permitted to guide.”

In this motion Mr. Pitt was opposed by every member of the council, but lord Temple, his brother-in-law, who had all along most strenuously seconded his public measures, and was generally supposed one of the most patriotic noblemen in the kingdom.

Mr. Pitt, finding his influence was now entirely at an end in the council, drew up his motives for retiring from public affairs; a method which the earl Temple also pursued; and both gave in these motives, signed with their own hands, to his majesty. The king is said to have expressed a gracious concern for the loss of Mr. Pitt, who, together with his brother the lord Temple, resigned their employments on the ninth of October; immediately after which, his majesty, with a spirit of munificence, that did him infinite honour, settled a pension of 3000 l. a year on the illustrious commoner, not only for his own life, but for that of his son, and his lady; the latter of whom was created baroness of Chatham, with remainder to her male issue by Mr. Pitt, he himself choosing to decline the distinction of nobility.

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The great commoner had so endeared himself to the body of the kingdom, by the spirited tenor of his administration, that his retreat from the service of the nation was generally deplored as a public misfortune. The press swarmed with pamphlets, setting forth the ingratitude of the court, which had obliged a statesman of such inflexible integrity to withdraw from his employments; and, in proportion as his character was lifted up with, perhaps, an extravagance of eulogium, so those of his enemies sunk, if not into general abhorrence, at least into general disesteem. The earl of Bute, in particular, underwent, from a supposition of engrossing the principal share of the royal confidence, an unremitting torrent of the most virulent abuse; he was every where the object of execration; and his country suffered a temporary infamy entirely upon his account. That the praise upon one side, notwithstanding Mr. Pitt's great merit, might not be as much overcharged as the obloquy on the other, there can be no room whatsoever to doubt; popular prejudices are always in extremes, especially in free countries; and where the minds of men are once warped by the receipt of favours, or the dread of injuries, it is but natural to expect, that every thing will appear in an exaggerated light. On one side, the most common exertion of a plain understanding will be instantly exalted into more than human wisdom; and, on the other, the most inconsiderable error to which mankind is liable, shall be set forth as a proof of equal turpitude and stupidity, and mentioned no less to the dishonour of our hearts than to the discredit of our understandings.

Such

Such was the state of things in this kingdom at the resignation of Mr. Pitt; however, his enemies, to retort some little of the scurrilities which they suffered on his account, soon employed a body of literary mercenaries, who gave him as little quarter as their patrons had received from his adherents.—They represented it as the highest arrogance in any minister, to think of bullying the council into his own opinion; and exclaimed against the turbulence and extravagance of Mr. Pitt, in the loudest terms, for wanting to embroil the nation in a war with Spain, at the very moment that the burdens occasioned by our contention with France were hurrying us precipitately into the most inevitable destruction. The inconsistency of his conduct, in originally opposing every connexion with the affairs of the continent, and entering more deeply than any of his predecessors into those affairs himself, at his advancement to the administration, became an inexhaustible source of invective; and, even the pension, which was granted by the sovereign as a reward for his eminent services, was represented as the wages of his perfidy, and called the price for which he deserted the interest of his country. This last circumstance was urged with such an air of plausibility as disarmed the great commoner of his stoicism;—he felt the wound, as Hamlet phrases it, in his *heart's core*; *in his heart of hearts*, and therefore sat down the moment he perceived it gaining ground, and wrote the following letter to a person of the first consequence in the City, through the channel of whose connexions he intended to convey it to the eye of the public.

DEAR

“ DEAR SIR,

“ FINDING, to my great surprize, that the cause and manner of my resigning the seal, is misrepresented in the City, as well as that the most gracious and spontaneous marks of his majesty's approbation of my service, which marks followed my resignation, have been infamously traduced as a bargain for my forsaking the public, I am under a necessity of declaring the *truth* of both these facts, in a manner which, I am sure, no gentleman will contradict.

“ A difference of opinion, with regard to measures to be taken against Spain, of the highest importance, to the honour of the crown, and to the most essential national interests (and this founded on what Spain had already done, not on what that court may farther intend to do) was the cause of my resigning the seals. Lord Temple and I submitted, in a writing, signed by us, our most humble sentiments to his majesty; which, being over-ruled by the united opinions of all the rest of the king's servants, I resigned the seals on Monday the 5th of this month, in order not to remain responsible for measures which I was no longer allowed to guide. Most gracious, public marks, of his majesty's approbation of my services, followed my resignation; they are unmerited and unsolicited; and I shall be ever proud to have received them from the best of sovereigns.

“ I will now only add, my dear sir, that I have explained these matters, only for the honour of truth, not in any view to court return of confidence from any man, who, with a credulity weak

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as it is injurious, has thought fit hastily to withdraw his good opinion from one who has served his country with fidelity and success, and who justly reveres the upright and candid judgment of it, little solicitous about the censures of the capricious and the ungenerous. Accept my sincerest acknowledgments for all your kind friendship, and believe me ever, with truth and esteem,

My dear sir,

Your faithful friend, &c."

This letter, the inaccuracy of which it must be acknowledged nothing but the hurry and perturbation of the writer's mind could possibly excuse, did not, by any means, answer the intention of the illustrious writer; the friends of Mr. Pitt wanted no justification whatsoever of his conduct, and his enemies were determined not to pay the least regard to the most forcible which he produced. The wits, therefore, who espoused the party of his opponents, rejoiced to see him so easily wounded, and obtained from this ill-written and unnecessary letter, a fresh opportunity of turning him into ridicule, and, consequently, treating those abilities of which his admirers spoke in a continual strain of hyperbole, with the most insuperable air of contempt. The bulk of the nation, however, visibly preponderated in the scale of Mr. Pitt, and the Spanish war which broke out immediately after his resignation, afforded his friends such a fair occasion of triumph, as entirely put his enemies out of countenance.

Though the new administration were looked upon as professed enemies to the great commoner,

moner, they, nevertheless, adhered in the main to his system; and though they could not be brought to send an armament to any part of the Spanish borders without farther ceremony, the earl of Bristol was ordered once more to demand a categorical answer from the Spanish minister, Mr. Wall, relative to the treaty lately concluded with France; and to inform his excellency, in positive but polite terms, that, unless this satisfaction was granted, the court of London would be inevitably obliged to consider a refusal as an actual commencement of hostilities. The earl of Bristol went through this commission with his usual address; but Mr. Wall, so far from consenting to quiet the jealousies of the British nation, told his lordship, with a very haughty air, that this resolution of the English ministry could be excited by nothing but that spirit of pride and discord, which, so fatally for the repose of the world, was permitted to reign in all their councils; and that lord Bristol might, whenever he pleased, take the shortest passage into his own country.

However the enemies of Mr. Pitt might accuse him of precipitancy, with regard to the Spanish nation, it is, nevertheless, but justice to acknowledge that this delay, till Mr. Wall was again spoke to by the British ambassador, was both impolitic and unnecessary; during Mr. Pitt's administration, he had been spoken to in the most explicit manner, concerning his connections with the court of France; and his answer, though not absolutely positive, was, nevertheless, such as justified the vigorous measures proposed by Mr. Pitt, for coming at the fullest explanation. The law of nations is undoubtedly a matter of

the highest importance; but the honour of nations is a matter of the highest importance too: repeated remonstrances, where we have been intolently trifled with, is an acquiescence with our own dishonour; and a kingdom which values itself upon its reputation, ought no more to put up with a palpable indignity, than with a palpable injustice.

The news of the Spanish minister's behaviour to lord Bristol at Madrid, had no sooner reached this kingdom, than the Spanish ambassador presented one of the most extraordinary notes to lord Egremont, who succeeded Mr. Pitt as Secretary of State, that ever appeared in the annals of any country. As Smollet very justly observes, it might more properly be called, *his Catholic Majesty's declaration of war against William Pitt, late minister to the king of Great-Britain*, than a notification of an intended rupture between Spain and England. As it relates in a manner so immediately to Mr. Pitt, the reader will probably be pleased with our insertion of it, especially when it serves to shew in how very important a light he was considered by the proudest nation in Europe.

Translation of the Spanish ambassador's note delivered at the Court of London, Dec. 25, 1761.

“ THE Count de Fuentes, the Catholic
 “ king's ambassador to his Britannic majesty,
 “ has just received a courier from his court,
 “ by whom he is informed, that my lord Bri-
 “ stol, his Britannic majesty's ambassador at
 “ the court of Madrid, has said to his excel-
 “ lency Mr. Wall, minister of state, that he
 “ had

“ had orders to demand a positive and catego-
 “ rical answer to this question: viz. if Spain
 “ thinks of allying herself with France against
 “ England; and to declare, at the same time,
 “ that he should take a refusal of his demand,
 “ for an aggression and declaration of war; and
 “ that he should, in consequence, be obliged
 “ to retire from the court of Spain: the above
 “ minister of state answered him, that such a
 “ step could only be suggested by the spirit of
 “ haughtiness and discord, which, for the mis-
 “ fortune of mankind, still reigns but too much
 “ in the British government; that it was in that
 “ very moment that the war was declared, and
 “ the king’s dignity violently attacked, and that
 “ he might retire how, and when, he should
 “ think proper.

“ The count de Fuentes is in consequence
 “ ordered to leave the court and dominions of
 “ England; and to declare to the British king, to
 “ the English nation, and to the whole universe,
 “ that the horrors into which the Spanish and
 “ English nations are going to plunge them-
 “ selves, must be attributed only to *the pride,*
 “ *and to the unmeasurable ambition of him who*
 “ *has held the reins of government, and who*
 “ *appears still to hold them, although by another*
 “ *hand;* and if his Catholic majesty excused
 “ himself from answering on the treaty in
 “ question between his Catholic majesty and his
 “ most Christian majesty, which is believed to
 “ have been signed on the fifteenth of August,
 “ and wherein it is pretended there are condi-
 “ tions relative to England, he had very good
 “ reasons: first the king’s dignity required him
 “ to manifest his just resentment of the little
 “ management,

“ management; or, to speak more properly, of
 “ the *insulting manner with which all the affairs*
 “ *of Spain have been treated during Mr. Pitt’s*
 “ *administration*; who finding himself convinced
 “ of the justice of the king’s pretensions, his
 “ ordinary and last answer was, *that he would*
 “ *not relax in any thing till the Tower of London*
 “ *was taken sword in hand.*

“ Besides, his majesty was much shocked to hear
 “ the haughty and imperious tone with which the
 “ contents of the treaty were demanded of him; if
 “ the respect due to royal majesty had been regard-
 “ ed, explanations might have been had without
 “ any difficulty; the ministers of Spain might have
 “ frankly said to those of England, what the count
 “ de Fuentes by the king’s order declares public-
 “ ly: viz. that the said treaty is only a convention
 “ between the family of Bourbon, wherein there
 “ is nothing which has the least relation to the
 “ present war: that there is in it an article for
 “ the mutual guaranty of the dominions of the
 “ two sovereigns; but it is specified therein that
 “ the guaranty is not to be understood but of the
 “ dominions which shall remain to France after
 “ the present war shall be ended; that, although
 “ his Catholic majesty might have reason to think
 “ himself offended by the irregular manner in
 “ which the memorial was returned to Mr. Bussy,
 “ minister of France, which he had presented for
 “ terminating the differences of Spain and Eng-
 “ land, at the same time, with the war between
 “ this last and France; he has, however, dissem-
 “ bled, and, from an effect of his love of peace,
 “ caused a memorial to be delivered to my lord
 “ Bristol, wherein it is evidently demonstrated,
 “ that the step of France, which put the minister
 “ Pitt

“ Pitt into so bad a humour, did not at all offend
 “ either the laws of neutrality, or the sincerity of
 “ the two sovereigns : that, further, from a fresh
 “ proof of his pacific spirit, the king of Spain
 “ wrote to the king of France his cousin, that if
 “ the union with France regarded in any manner
 “ the peace with England, he consented to sepa-
 “ rate himself from it, not to put any obstacle to
 “ so great a happiness ; but it was soon seen that
 “ this was only a pretence on the part of the
 “ English minister; for that of France continuing
 “ his negotiation, without making any mention
 “ of Spain, and proposing conditions very advan-
 “ tageous and honourable for England ; the mi-
 “ nister Pitt, to the great astonishment of the
 “ universe, rejected them with disdain; and
 “ shewed, at the same time, his ill-will against
 “ Spain, to the scandal of the British councils;
 “ and unfortunately he has succeeded but too
 “ far in his pernicious design.

“ This declaration, made the count de Fuentes
 “ desire his excellency my lord Egremont, to pre-
 “ sent his most humble respects to his Britannic
 “ majesty, and to obtain from him passports, and
 “ all other facilities for him, his family, and all
 “ his retinue, to go out of the dominions of Great
 “ Britain, without any trouble, and to go by the
 “ short passage of the sea which separates them
 “ from the continent.”

The new administration, notwithstanding its
 prodigious want of popularity, nevertheless
 pursued the war with the greatest vigour ; and
 covered the nation with glory, at the very in-
 stant that they themselves were the general
 objects of public execration. In a little time
 they reduced France, in spite of her new ally,
 to

to resume the negotiation for peace; and Spain, who, by this time, heartily repented of her perfidy to England, very readily made overtures to the same purpose. In consequence of which, the duke of Bedford went over to France, and a peace was accordingly ratified at Fountainbleau, on the tenth day of February, 1763.

The conditions of this peace, though it was approved by a very great majority in parliament, nevertheless occasioned fresh complaints among the body of the people; our successes had been so great during the war, that the nation expected, and indeed with no little colour of reason, that concessions of a very considerable nature would be made by the court of France, in particular, which was now humbled at our feet. The ministry, however, were desirous of peace upon any terms; and this inclination was so extremely visible, that it was in general set down as the effect of a dastardly fear, or a conscious incapacity. Among the number who condemned it, Mr. Pitt was one of the most principal. Though reduced by a violent illness to a most declining situation, he nevertheless came to the House of Commons in the arms of his friends, and obtaining permission from the speaker to deliver his sentiments sitting, he spoke for more than three hours, without intermission. In the course of his speech, he observed, that the British affairs were now in a very different posture to what they had been during his negociation with France—That the important increase of our conquests should now naturally lead us to demand an encrease of concessions from our enemies; and, that, though the support of Portugal had necessarily incur-

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ed an additional burden of public debt, the kingdom was still in a capacity to raise fresh supplies, and another blow would so effectually annihilate the power of France, that she would be utterly unable ever more to rise up as an enemy to England. Mr. Pitt's elocution, however, made but few proselytes to his opinion in the House of Commons; he was heard with attention, but he lost his point, and the peace was approved, as I have already mentioned, by a very great majority.

The parliamentary approbation had been scarcely given to the definitive treaty, when a new accident happened, which rendered Mr. Pitt, if possible, more than ever the subject of public animadversion: the city of Bath, which Mr. Pitt represented, was, at this time, principally directed in all its public affairs, by Mr. Ralph Allen, of Prior Park; a man of an ample fortune, an enlarged understanding, and an incorruptible heart. The excellence of this gentleman's character, joined to the many essential obligations which he conferred on the city of Bath, gave him a very just weight with the corporation: Mr. Allen, who looked upon the peace to be a good one in the main, advised the magistrates to address upon it, and even drew up an address himself for that purpose, which the corporation approving, they sent immediately up to Mr. Pitt, and Sir John Seabright, their members, desiring them to present it forthwith to his majesty.

Mr. Pitt, who had so strongly objected to the peace, thought it incompatible with the dignity of his character to be concerned in presenting such an address; he therefore declined

to have any share in the transaction; and even wrote down to Mr. Allen, informing him, that, as he had the misfortune to think so differently from his constituents in an affair of such importance, he could by no means look upon himself as a proper representative, and therefore requested that the corporation would think of some more suitable person against the general election.

Mr. Allen, who had a sincere veneration for the great abilities of Mr. Pitt, and entertained the highest opinion of his integrity, was not a little concerned at this intimation from our illustrious commoner, though he could not in reality but think it somewhat extraordinary. If Mr. Pitt claimed a right of acting in conformity to the sentiments of his own heart, he did not see why the same liberty should be denied to other people; and possibly he thought it more in character for the constituents to dictate the representative, than for the representative to take fire at the constituents' advice.—Be this as it may, Mr. Allen sent up a letter, couched in terms the most genteel and friendly, expressing his anxiety for the resolution which Mr. Pitt had made not to represent the city of Bath in another election, and hoping he might be brought to change his opinion; as in the business of the address, there was no intention whatsoever of treating him with the least disrespect. Mr. Pitt, however, remained inflexible. Nevertheless, Mr. Allen, who died universally lamented by the whole kingdom in a short time after, remembered him in his will with a legacy of one thousand pounds; and continued to the hour of his death to speak of him

him with all the generous warmth of the most cordial affection.

Mr. Pitt's letter to Mr. Allen was no sooner communicated to the public, than a fresh paper war commenced, between the writers of the opposite interests. The patriotic pens, as they were called, extolled Mr. Pitt's behaviour to the skies, as the most exalted instance of spirit and independency. While those on the contrary side of the question condemned it as equally inconsiderate and presumptuous. They insisted it was subversive of the national constitution; and argued, that, if any one member can look upon himself as exempted from abiding by the sense of his constituents, the whole House of Commons might with equal propriety act in opposition to the general sense of the kingdom—A doctrine of this nature, they said, struck at the very essence of all our liberties; and it was asked with an air of triumphant ridicule, if any corporation ever elected a representative with a view of counteracting the principal object of its own inclination? In such a case it was said, that we only appointed a set of servants to tyrannize over ourselves; and selected a number of people, under an affected solicitude for our freedom, who were to tread us with more certainty into slaves. Notwithstanding all these representations carried something extremely reasonable, the majority of the kingdom still continued their admiration of Mr. Pitt, and in some places the enthusiasm was carried so far that his picture was requested, and medals were not only struck to his honour, but statues even agreed to, with the utmost avidity.

In this situation matters went on, the administration growing every day more odious, and the general voice of the public calling out for our illustrious commoner as the only means of preventing the destruction of the kingdom. The earl of Bute had been now some time out of actual office, though he was still supposed to influence all the proceedings of the ministry, and his place at the Treasury board was given to Mr. George Grenville, and lord Sandwich came in secretary of state upon the death of lord Egremont. These dispositions in the ministry were made rather as a rattle to divert the chagrin of the public, than to produce any variation in the political system of the kingdom; therefore the general dissatisfaction was no way removed—On the contrary, some very injudicious measures being taken by the government, particularly in a duty upon cyder, and a restriction upon the commerce of the colonies, the public clamour became louder than ever; and it was found expedient to invite Mr. Pitt into a share of the administration, on purpose to quiet the murmurs of the kingdom. The illustrious commoner must have been a stoic, even to stupidity, had he not felt a most exquisite satisfaction at the exalted testimony which his country thus generously bore to his character; he felt it therefore sensibly, and accordingly repaired to court, where he offered to engage again in public business; upon certain conditions however, which he judged to be extremely essential, as well to his own honour, as to the interest of the kingdom. These conditions being thought extravagant, the negotiation ended; the ministry went on in its old course, and

and national exclamations continued to encrease, with a firmness that rendered some alteration absolutely necessary to restore the general tranquillity.

The eyes of the whole kingdom being still inflexibly bent upon Mr. Pitt, he was again applied to, and requested to take a principal share in the administration; but he again declined the overture, as the terms upon which he was willing to come in, were not to be allowed. Some people, indeed, but those are to be numbered with his enemies, took upon them to say, that the conditions which he made were so ridiculously extravagant, as to manifest nothing but the most egregious consciousness of his own importance and abilities; and they even went so far as to insinuate, that it was an excess of vanity alone which prevented him from engaging in the service of his country. Be his motives, however, what they may, it would be improper in this place to guess at them, since they were never made public. It is nevertheless but justice to say, that Mr. Pitt had a right to make some conditions when he saw what a likelihood there was of being sacrificed to the intrigues of a powerful favourite; after he had restored the tranquillity of the kingdom. Experience had repeatedly convinced him, that neither the merit of essential service, nor the recompence of superior abilities, was sufficient to maintain a man of spirit against the infamous intrigues of faction, or the ill-founded prejudices of predeliction; besides this, as the principal weight of government was to lie upon his shoulders, it was but proper for him to be previously convinced that nobody was to interfere with

with his designs. In the late reign, notwithstanding his acknowledged merit, he had been twice dismissed; in the present, the very measures which were rejected when advised by him, were carried into execution the moment he was out of place. It was not for a man of his importance to be trifled with. If services were expected from him, the least that he could demand was the civility of conferring them in his own manner; and the boldest flights of his insolence, as some writers have affected indelicately to stile his conditions, did not, according to their own account, exceed a mention of the officers with whom he was willing to be joined. As his terms, therefore, were not to be granted, he, with a spirit that became his character, entirely declined any connection with government; and, as there was an absolute necessity for removing Mr. Grenville and his brother ministers, the marquis of Rockingham was appointed to the chief place at the Treasury Board. Mr. Conway, who, during the late administration, had been deprived of his regiment, accepted the southern department Secretaryship, in lord Hallifax's room, while the duke of Grafton succeeded to the northern, in the place of lord Sandwich; Mr. Dowdeswell was made Chancellor of the Exchequer; and the inferior offices were bestowed upon such gentlemen as were supposed to differ most widely from the principles of their predecessors in place.

During the whole time of Mr. Pitt's administration, envy itself was ready enough to allow that no man ever shewed so great a disregard of money, or laboured so little to advance the welfare of his family. His most virulent enemies,
while

while they railed at what they called his ambition, never breathed a whisper to the prejudice of his integrity; the time was now, however, at hand, when the uprightness of his behaviour to the public was to be rewarded by the gratitude of a private individual; and when what was lost through the strictness of his probity, was to be made up by the lustre of his character. Sir William Pynsent, a baronet of large estate, who had been long an admirer of Mr. Pitt's conduct, but who was no way allied to him in blood, nor connected with him by friendship, dying about this time, bequeathed his whole fortune to our illustrious commoner, though he had relations of his own, who naturally expected the reversion of his inheritance. The motive of the bequest was particularly specified in the testator's will; and the dying baronet seemed to glory in an opportunity of rewarding a man who had acted so disinterested a part by his country. Thus, Mr. Pitt, from a slenderness of circumstances, was raised at once into a fulness of fortune; and thus, one of those eccentric starts of generosity, which are seldom to be met with in any other nation, incontestibly justified the truth of the old adage, that "Honesty is always the best policy."

There were not, however, wanting those who seized this opportunity of condemning Mr. Pitt; his acceptance of a bequest as unexpected as it was unsolicited, a number of generous people considered as a mark of littleness, utterly inconsistent with the boasted elevation of his character; nay, many thought it incumbent on him to make a present of the whole to the testator's relations: but I am very apt to think that, upon this occasion, they prescribed a mode of action
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for Mr. Pitt, which would be adopted by very few of themselves. A considerable estate is a matter not to be trifled with; and though a proceeding of that nature might raise him to the stars among the romantic, 'twould give him but very little consequence among men of real understanding. His own family was now the principal object of his consideration, and 'twould have been rather difficult to justify him in the thoughts of his posterity, had he, through any principle of an exalted phrensy, rashly thrown away those blessings which fortune now heaped upon him with so munificent a hand.

While one part of the public was rejoicing at this happy alteration in Mr. Pitt's circumstances, and the other exclaiming at sir William Pynsent for preferring the welfare of an utter stranger to the establishment of his own relation, a debate of the most important nature came on in the House of Commons, which acquired Mr. Pitt as great a share of popularity among his American fellow-subjects, as he had before obtained among his countrymen on this side the Atlantic. During Mr. Grenville's administration, a bill had been passed in the British parliament, for levying a stamp-duty on the colonies; this bill the Americans considered, and justly, as a manifest infringement on those liberties to which they were intitled in common with all the subjects of Great Britain; it robbed them of every share in the formation of those laws by which they themselves were to be governed, and left them entirely at the mercy of the people of England; who, however generously they might act on most occasions, nevertheless, on the present, gave but
too

too much room to suppose that there was a possibility of their launching out into some casual oppressions, and inequitable partialities.

The inhabitants of the colonies, from birth and education, are a people who entertain as high a notion of liberty, as any country in the universe; they could not, therefore, but feel the most sensible mortification at this new exertion of authority in the mother country. The intelligent easily saw that if this sketch of power was submitted to, the American constitution would be exposed to continual encroachments; and the people must in a little time, be reduced to such a state of vassalage, as would render them an immediate property to the people of England. This consideration was insupportable. Though they did not wish to be exempted from the duty of subjects, they could not bear the idea of being slaves; they exerted themselves, therefore, with a becoming degree of spirit, and so effectually prevailed with the various officers who were to distribute the stamps, and to carry the duty into execution, that there was not any one individual in any one of the colonies, who could be found hardy enough to attempt the discharge of an employment so extremely disagreeable to all orders of the people.

As in some of the colonies the mob frequently rose up to compel the stamp masters to a resignation, Mr. Grenville and his friends represented those insurrections as so many daring acts of opposition to the power of the British legislature; and even went so far as to affirm, that the colonies were impatient of their dependance upon Great Britain, and only made use of the stamp duty as a pretext to discharge themselves from

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their proper subjection to the crown of England. Mr. Pitt, who had for some time been absent from the House of Commons, on account of his ill state of health, would by no means decline attending at a debate of so much consequence to the British empire; he clearly saw, that the existence, not only of the colonies, but of the Mother-Country itself, was now at stake, and looked upon it as a more judicious, as well as a more honourable proceeding, for the latter to retract an indiscretion which she herself acknowledged, than to support it by force of arms against her own children. An exertion of the Mother-Country's authority might be a gratification to her pride, but the indulgence of that pride must be destructive to her justice, her happiness, and her humanity. The colonies might, in his opinion, have been somewhat rash in their resentment, but still they were injured; and that rashness was nothing more than what we ought to excuse, as it had been entirely occasioned by ourselves. To punish a people for despair, after we had rendered them desperate, would be an equal imputation on our equity and our understanding; and, in the present case, would be no less ridiculous than unjust, because every stroke which we inflicted on them, must recoil, with a double degree of sharpness, on ourselves. Mr. Pitt, seeing matters in this light, it was no wonder he stood up as a strenuous advocate for the Colonies. The speech which he made upon this occasion, is reckoned among the most capital of his orations; and probably, as it serves very materially to distinguish the extent of the Mother-Country's sovereignty over her Colonies, the reader
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may be equally entertained and instructed, if we give it a place.

It will, however, be previously necessary to inform the reader, that, some time before the meeting of parliament, a report had been artfully propagated, that the ministry had changed their minds with regard to the Stamp-Act, and, instead of repealing, were resolved to enforce it. If it could be proved that this report did not come originally from the favourites of a certain northern nobleman, yet it was certainly much indebted to them for its progress, which was so great as to affect the stocks.

The king's speech to the parliament on the 14th of January, 1766, gave some colour to the suggestion; but when the gentlemen had spoke who moved for the address, and who seconded it, nothing could be clearer, than that the ministry persisted in their intention to promote the repeal. The friends of the late ministry applauded the king's speech, and approved of the proposed address, which, as usual, only recapitulated the speech.

The opposition took great offence at the tenderness of expression, that the two first gentlemen had made use of concerning America. Mr. Nugent particularly insisted, "That the HONOR and dignity of the kingdom, obliged us to compel the execution of the Stamp-Act, except the right was acknowledged, and the repeal solicited as a favour. He computed the expence of the troops now employed in America for their defence, as he called it, to amount to nine-pence in the pound of our land-tax; while the produce of the Stamp-Act would not raise a shilling a head on the inhabitants of America; but that a

pepper-corn, in acknowledgment of the right, was of more value, than millions without. He expatiated on the extreme ingratitude of the Colonies; and concluded, with charging the ministry with encouraging petitions to parliament, and instructions to members from the trading and manufacturing towns, against the Act."

Mr. Pitt was the next speaker. Every friend of his country rejoiced to see him again in that house, and more so, in such perfect health. As he always begins very low, and as every body was in agitation at his first rising, his introduction was not heard, 'till he said, "I came to town but to-day; I was a stranger to the tenor of his majesty's speech, and the proposed address, 'till I heard them read in this house. Unconnected and unconsulted, I have not the means of information; I am fearful of offending through mistake, and therefore beg to be indulged with a second reading of the proposed address." The address being read, Mr. Pitt went on:—"He commended the king's speech, approved of the address in answer, as it decided nothing, every gentleman being left at perfect liberty to take such a part concerning America, as he might afterwards see fit. One word only he could not approve of; an EARLY, is a word that does not belong to the notice the ministry have given to parliament of the troubles in America. In a matter of such importance, the communication ought to have been immediate: I speak not with respect to parties; I stand up in this place single and unconnected. As to the late ministry, (turning himself to Mr. Gr——lle, who sat within one of him) every capital

capital measure they have taken, has been entirely wrong!

“As to the present gentlemen, to those at least whom I have in my eye (looking at the bench where Mr. Conway sat, with the lords of the Treasury) I have no objection; I have never been made a sacrifice by any of them. Their characters are fair; and I am always glad when men of fair character engage in his majesty's service. Some of them have done me the honour to ask my poor opinion, before they would engage. These will do me the justice to own, I advised them to engage; but notwithstanding—I love to be explicit—I cannot give them my confidence; pardon me, gentlemen, (bowing to the ministry) confidence is a plant of slow growth in an aged bosom: youth is the season of credulity; by comparing events with each other, reasoning from effects to causes, methinks I plainly discover the traces of an over-ruling influence.

“There is a clause in the act of settlement, to oblige every minister to sign his name to the advice which he gives his sovereign. Would it were observed!—I have had the honour to serve the crown, and if I could have submitted to influence, I might have still continued to serve; but I would not be responsible for others.—I have no local attachments; it is indifferent to me, whether a man was rocked in his cradle on this side or that side of the Tweed. I sought for merit wherever it was to be found. It is my boast, that I was the first minister who looked for it, and I found it in the mountains of the north. I called it forth, and drew it into your service—an hardy and intrepid race of men! Men, who, when left by your jealousy, became a prey
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to the artifices of your enemies, and had gone nigh to have overturned the state, in the war before the last. These men, in the last war, were brought to combat on your side: they served with fidelity, as they fought with valour, and conquered for you in every part of the world: detested be the national reflections against them;—they are unjust, groundless, illiberal, unmanly. When I ceased to serve his majesty as a minister, it was not the COUNTRY of the man by which I was moved—but THE MAN of that country wanted WISDOM, and held principles incompatible with FREEDOM.

It is a long time, Mr. Speaker, since I have attended in parliament. When the resolution was taken in the house to tax America, I was ill in bed. If I could have endured to have been carried in my bed, so great was the agitation of my mind for the consequences! I would have solicited some kind hand to have laid me down on this floor, to have borne my testimony against it. It is now an act that has passed—I would speak with decency of every act of this house, but I must beg the indulgence of the house to speak of it with freedom.

“ I hope a day may be soon appointed to consider the state of the nation with respect to America. I hope gentlemen will come to this debate with all the temper and impartiality that his majesty recommends, and the importance of the subject requires. A subject of greater importance than ever engaged the attention of this house! that subject only excepted, when, near a century ago, it was the question, whether you yourselves were to be bound, or free. In the mean time, as I cannot depend upon health for
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any future day, such is the nature of my infirmities, I will beg leave to say a few words at present, leaving the justice, the equity, the policy, the expediency of the act, to another time. I will only speak to one point, a point which seems not to have been generally understood—I mean to the right. Some gentlemen (alluding to Mr. N——t) seem to have considered it as a point of HONOR. If gentlemen consider it in that light, they leave all measures of right and wrong, to follow a delusion that may lead to destruction.* It is my opinion that this kingdom has no right to lay a tax upon the colonies. At the same time I assert the authority of this kingdom over the colonies, to be sovereign and supreme, in every circumstance of government and legislation whatsoever.—They are the subjects of this kingdom, equally intitled with yourselves to all the natural rights of mankind, and the peculiar privileges of Englishmen. Equally bound by its laws, and equally participating of the constitution of this free country. The Americans are the sons, not the bastards, of England. Taxation is no part of the governing or legislative power.—The taxes are a voluntary gift and grant of the commons alone. In legislation, the three estates of the realm are alike concerned, but the concurrence of the peers and the crown to a tax, is only necessary to close with the form of a law. The gift and grant is of the commons alone. In antient days, the crown, the barons, and the clergy possessed the lands. In those days, the barons and the clergy gave and granted to the crown. They gave and granted what was their own. At present, since the discovery of America,

rica, and other circumstances permitting, the commons are become the proprietors of the land. The crown has divested itself of its great estates. The church (God bless it) has but a pittance. The property of the lords, compared with that of the commons, is as a drop of water in the ocean; and this house represents those commons, the proprietors of the lands; and those proprietors virtually represent the rest of the inhabitants. When, therefore, in this house we give and grant, we give and grant what is our own. But in an American tax, what do we do? We, your majesty's commons of Great-Britain, give and grant to your majesty, what? Our own property? —No. We give and grant to your majesty the property of your majesty's commons of America.—It is an absurdity in terms.—

“ The distinction between legislation and taxation is essentially necessary to liberty. The crown, the peers, are equally legislative powers with the commons. If taxation be a part of simple legislation, the crown, the peers have rights in taxation as well as yourselves: rights which they will claim, which they will exercise, whenever the principle can be supported by POWER.

“ There is an idea in some, that the colonies are virtually represented in this house. I would fain know by whom an American is represented here? Is he represented by any knight of the shire, in any county in this kingdom? WOULD TO GOD THAT RESPECTABLE REPRESENTATION WAS AUGMENTED TO A GREATER NUMBER! Or will you tell him that he is represented by any representative of a borough—a borough, which perhaps

perhaps no man ever saw—This is what is called, the ROTTEN PART OF THE CONSTITUTION.—It cannot continue the century — If it does not drop, it must be amputated. —The idea of a virtual representation of America in this house, is the most contemptible idea that ever entered into the head of a man—It does not deserve a serious refutation.

“ The commons of America, represented in their several assemblies, have ever been in possession of the exercise of this, their constitutional right, of giving and granting their own money. They would have been slaves if they had not enjoyed it. At the same time, this kingdom, as the supreme governing and legislative power, has always bound the colonies by her laws, by her regulations, and restrictions in trade, in navigation, in manufactures—in every thing, except that of taking their money out of their pockets without their consent.

“ Here I would draw the line,

Quam ultra citraque nequit consistere restum.”

He concluded with a familiar voice and tone, but so low, that it was not easy to distinguish what he said. A considerable pause ensued after Mr. Pitt had done speaking.—Mr. C--n--y then got up. He said, “ he had been waiting to see whether any answer would be given, to what had been advanced by the right honourable gentleman, reserving himself for the reply : but as none had been given, he had only to declare, that his own sentiments were entirely conformable to those of the right honourable gentleman.—That they are so conformable, he said, is a circumstance that affects me with most sensible pleasure, and does me the greatest honour. But

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two things fell from that gentleman, which give me pain, as whatever falls from that gentleman, falls from so great a height as to make a deep impression.—I must endeavour to remove it. It was objected, that the notice given to parliament of the troubles in America was not early. I can assure the house, the first accounts were too vague and imperfect to be worth the notice of parliament. It is only of late that they have been precise and full. An over-ruling influence has also been hinted at. I see nothing of it—I feel nothing of it. I disclaim it for myself, and (as far as my discernment can reach) for all the rest of his majesty's ministers. Mr. Pitt said, in answer to Mr. C——y, "The excuse is a valid one, if it is a just one. That must appear from the papers now before the house." In the interim, Mr. G——le had recovered himself. He avoided meddling with the doctrine of taxation being confined to the house of commons, and being founded on the free gift of the collective body, through the medium of their representatives; neither did he attempt to defend the virtual representation of America; but began with censuring the present ministry very severely, for delaying to give earlier notice to parliament of the disturbances in America. He said, "They began in July, and now we are in the middle of January; lately they were only occurrences, (the word used in the king's speech on the 17th of December) they are now grown to disturbances, to tumults and riots. I doubt they border on open rebellion; and if the doctrine I have heard this day be confirmed, I fear they will lose that name to take that of Revolution. The government over them being dissolved, a revolution will take place in America.

rica. I cannot understand the difference between external and internal taxes. They are the same in effect, and only differ in name. That this kingdom is the sovereign, the supreme legislative power over America, is granted. It cannot be denied; and taxation is a part of that sovereign power. It is one branch of the legislation. It is, it has been, exercised over those who are not, who were never represented. It is exercised over the India company, the merchants of London, the proprietors of the stocks, and over many great manufacturing towns. It was exercised over the palatinate of Chester, and the bishoprick of Durham, before they sent any representatives to parliament. I appeal for proof to the preambles of the acts which gave them representatives: the one in the reign of Henry VIII. the other in that of Charles II." Mr. G—lle then quoted the STATUTES EXACTLY, and desired that they might be read; which being done, he resumed his discourse: "When I proposed to tax America, I asked the house, if any gentleman would object to the right; I repeatedly asked it, and no man would attempt to deny it. Protection and obedience are reciprocal. Great-Britain protects America; America is bound to yield obedience. If not, tell me where the Americans were emancipated? When they want the protection of this kingdom, they are always very ready to ask it. That protection has always been afforded them in the most full and ample manner. The nation has run itself into an immense debt to give them their protection; and now they are called upon to contribute a small share towards the public expence, an expence arising from themselves, they renounce your

authority, insult your officers, and break out, I might almost say, into open rebellion. The seditious spirit of the colonies owes its birth to the factions in this house. Gentlemen are careless of the consequences of what they say, provided it answers the purposes of opposition. We were told we trod on tender ground; we were bid to expect disobedience. What was this, but telling the Americans to stand out against the law, to encourage their obstinacy, with the expectation of support from hence? Let us only hold out a little, they would say, our friends will soon be in power. Ungrateful people of America! Bounties have been extended to them. When I had the honour of serving the crown, while you yourselves were loaded with an enormous debt, you have given bounties on their lumber, on their iron, their hemp, and many other articles. You have relaxed, in their favour, the act of navigation, that palladium of the British commerce; and yet I have been abused in all the public papers as an enemy to the trade of America. I have been particularly charged with giving orders and instructions to prevent the Spanish trade, and thereby stopping the channel, by which alone North America used to be supplied with cash for remittances to this country. I defy any man to produce any such orders or instructions. I discouraged no trade but what was illicit, what was prohibited by act of parliament. I desire a West-India merchant, well known in the city (Mr. Long) a gentleman of character, may be examined. He will tell you, that I offered to do every thing in my power to advance the trade of America. I was above giving an answer to anonymous calumnies;

lumnies; but in this place, it becomes one to wipe off the aspersion."

Here Mr. Grenville ceased. Several members got up to speak, but Mr. Pitt seeming to rise, the house was so clamorous for Mr. Pitt, Mr. Pitt, that the Speaker was obliged to call to order.

After obtaining a little quiet, he said, "Mr. Pitt was up;" who began with informing the house, "That he did not mean to have gone any further upon the subject that day; that he had only designed to have thrown out a few hints, which gentlemen who were so confident of the right of this kingdom to send taxes to America, might consider; might, perhaps, reflect, in a cooler moment, that the right was at least equivocal. But since the gentleman, who spoke last, had not stopped on that ground, but had gone into the whole; into the justice, the equity, the policy, the expediency of the Stamp-Act, as well as in the right, he would follow him through the whole field, and combat his arguments on every point."

He was going on, when lord Strange got up, and called both the gentlemen, Mr. Pitt, and Mr. Grenville, to order. He said, "they had both departed from the matter before the house, which was the king's speech; and that Mr. Pitt was going to speak twice on the same debate, although the house was not in a committee."

Mr. George Onslow answered, "That they were both in order, as nothing had been said, but what was fairly deducible from the king's speech," and appealed to the Speaker. The Speaker decided in Mr. Onslow's favour.

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Mr. Pitt said, "I do not apprehend I am speaking twice: I did expressly reserve a part of my subject, in order to save the time of this house, but I am compell'd to proceed in it. I do not speak twice; I only finish what I designedly left imperfect. But if the house is of a different opinion, far be it from me to indulge a wish of transgression against order. I am content, if it be your pleasure, to be silent"—Here he paused—The house resounding with, "Go on, go on;" he proceeded:

"Gentlemen, Sir, (to the Speaker) I have been charged with giving birth to sedition in America. They have spoken their sentiments with freedom, against this unhappy act, and that freedom has become their crime. Sorry I am to hear the liberty of speech in this house, imputed as a crime. But the imputation shall not discourage me. It is a liberty I mean to exercise. No gentleman ought to be afraid to exercise it. It is a liberty by which the gentleman who calumniates it might have profited. He ought to have profited. He ought to have desisted from his project. The gentleman tells us, America is obstinate; America is almost in open rebellion. I rejoice that America has resisted. Three millions of people, so dead to all the feelings of liberty, as voluntary to submit to be slaves, would have been fit instruments to make slaves of the rest. I come not here arm'd at all points, with law cases and acts of parliament, with the statute book doubled down in dogs-ears, to defend the cause of liberty: if I had, I myself would have cited the two cases of Chester and Durham. I would have cited them, to have shewn, that, even under arbitrary reigns,
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parliaments were ashamed of taxing a people without their consent, and allowed them representatives. Why did the gentleman confine himself to Chester and Durham? He might have taken a higher example in Wales; Wales, that never was taxed by parliament, 'till it was incorporated. I would not debate a particular point of law with the gentleman: I know his abilities. I have been obliged to his diligent researches. But, for the defence of liberty upon a general principle, upon a constitutional principle, it is a ground on which I stand firm; on which I dare meet any man. The gentleman tells us of many who are taxed, and are not represented. The India company, merchants, stock-holders, manufacturers. Surely many of these are represented in other capacities, as owners of land, or as freemen of boroughs. It is a misfortune that more are not actually represented. But they are all inhabitants; and, as such, are virtually represented. Many have it in their option to be actually represented. They have connections with those that elect, and they have influence over them. The gentleman mentioned the stock-holders: I hope he does not reckon the debts of the nation as part of the national estate. Since the accession of king William, many ministers, some of great, others of more moderate, abilities, have taken the lead of government."

He then went through the list of them, bringing it down till he came to himself, giving a short sketch of the characters of each of them. "None of these," he said, "thought, or ever dreamed, of robbing the colonies of their constitutional rights. That was reserved to mark the æra of the late administration: not, that there

there were wanting some, when I had the honour to serve his majesty, to propose to me to burn my fingers with an American Stamp-Act. With the enemy at their back, with our bayonets at their breasts, in the day of their distress, perhaps the Americans would have submitted to the imposition; but it would have been taking an ungenerous, and unjust advantage. The gentleman boasts of his bounties to America! Are those bounties intended finally for the benefit of this kingdom? If they are, where is his peculiar merit to America? If they are not, he has misapplied the national treasures. I am no courtier of America, I stand up for this kingdom. I maintain, that the parliament has a right to bind, to restrain America. Our legislative power over the colonies, is sovereign and supreme. When it ceases to be sovereign and supreme, I would advise every gentleman to sell his lands, if he can, and embark for that country. When two countries are connected together, like England and her colonies, without being incorporated, the one must necessarily govern; the greater must rule the less; but so rule it, as not to contradict the fundamental principles that are common to both.

“ If the gentleman does not understand the difference between internal and external taxes, I cannot help it; but there is a plain distinction between taxes levied for the purposes of raising a revenue, and duties imposed for the regulation of trade, for the accommodation of the subject; although, in the consequences, some revenue might incidentally arise from the latter.

“ The gentleman asks, when were the colonies emancipated? But I desire to know, when they were

were made slaves? But I dwell not upon words. When I had the honour of serving his majesty, I availed myself of the means of information, which I derived from my office: I speak, therefore, from knowledge. My materials were good. I was at pains to collect, to digest, to consider them; and I will be bold to affirm, that the profits to Great Britain, from the trade of the colonies, through all its branches, is two millions a year. This is the fund that carried you triumphantly through the last war. The estates that were rented at two thousand pounds a year, threescore years ago, are at three thousand pounds at present. Those estates sold then from fifteen to eighteen years purchase; the same may be now sold for thirty. You owe this to America. This is the price that America pays you for her protection. And shall a miserable financier come with a boast, that he can fetch a pepper-corn into the Exchequer, to the loss of millions to the nation! I dare not say, how much higher these profits may be augmented. Omitting the immense increase of people, by natural population, in the northern colonies, and the migration from every part of Europe, I am convinced the whole commercial system of America may be altered to advantage. You have prohibited, where you ought to have encouraged; and you have encouraged where you ought to have prohibited. Improper restraints have been laid on the continent, in favour of the islands. You have but two nations to trade with in America. Would you had twenty! Let acts of parliament in consequence of treaties remain, but let not an English minister become a custom-house officer for Spain, or for any
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power. Much is wrong, much may be amended for the general good of the whole.

“ Does the gentleman complain he has been misrepresented in the public prints? It is a common misfortune. In the Spanish affair, in the last war, I was abused in all the news-papers, for having advised his majesty to violate the laws of nations, with regard to Spain. The abuse was industriously circulated, even in hand-bills. If administration did not propagate the abuse, ADMINISTRATION NEVER CONTRADICTED IT. I will not say what advice I did give to the king. My advice is in writing, signed by myself, in the possession of the crown. But I will say, what advice I did not give to the king: I did not advise him to violate any of the laws of nations.

“ As to the report of the gentleman's preventing, in some way, the trade for bullion with the Spaniards, it was spoken of so confidently, that I own I am one of those who did believe it to be true.

“ The gentleman must not wonder he was not contradicted, when, as the minister, he asserted a right of parliament to tax America. I know not how it is, but there is a modesty in this house which does not chuse to contradict a minister. I wish gentlemen would get the better of this modesty. If they do not, perhaps, the collective body may begin to abate of its respect for the representative. Lord Bacon had told me, that a great question would not fail of being agitated at one time or another. I was willing to agitate that at the proper season, the German war: my German war, they called it. Every session I called out, has any body any objections to the German war? No body would object to it,

it, one gentleman only excepted, since removed to the upper house, by succession to an ancient barony; (meaning lord le Despencer, formerly sir Francis Dashwood) he told me, “ he did not like my German war.” I honoured the man for it, and was sorry when he was turned out of his post.

“ A great deal has been said without doors, of the power, of the strength, of America. It is a topic that ought to be cautiously meddled with. In a good cause, on a sound bottom, the force of this country can crush America to atoms. I know the valour of your troops. I know the skill of your officers. There is not a company of foot that has served in America, out of which you may not pick a man of sufficient knowledge and experience, to make a governor of a colony there. But on this ground, on the Stamp-Act, when so many here will think it a crying injustice, I am one who will lift my my hands against it.

“ In such a cause, your success would be hazardous.—America, if she fell, would fall like the strong man. She would embrace the pillars of the state, and pull down the constitution along with her. Is this your boasted peace? Not to sheath the sword in its scabbord, but to sheath it in the bowels of your countrymen? Will you quarrel with yourselves, now the whole house of Bourbon is united against you? While France disturbs your fisheries in Newfoundland, embarrasses your slave trade to Africa, and with-holds from your subjects in Canada, their property stipulated by treaty; while the ransom for Manillas is denied by Spain, and its gallant conqueror basely traduced into a mean plunderer, a gentleman, (colonel Draper) whose noble and generous spirit

would do honour to the proudest grandee of the country. The Americans have not acted in all things with prudence and temper. They have been wronged. They have been driven to madness by injustice. Will you punish them for the madness you have occasioned? Rather let prudence and temper come first from this side. I will undertake for America, that she will follow the example. There are two lines in a ballad of Prior's, of a man's behaviour to his wife, so applicable to you and your colonies, that I cannot help repeating them :

“ Be to her faults a little blind :

“ Be to her virtues very kind.”

“ Upon the whole, I will beg leave to tell the house what is really my opinion. It is, that the Stamp-Act be REPEALED ABSOLUTELY, TOTALLY, and IMMEDIATELY. That the reason for the repeal be assigned, because it was founded on an erroneous principle. At the same time, let the sovereign authority of this country over the colonies, be asserted in as strong terms as can be devised, and be made to extend to every point of legislation whatsoever. That we may bind their TRADE, confine their MANUFACTURES, and exercise every POWER whatsoever, except that of taking their money out of their pockets without their consent !”——

The part which Mr. Pitt took upon this occasion, was in general extremely acceptable to the people of the Mother-Country ; but the Americans were extravagant in their acclamations. They considered the repeal of the Stamp-Act which immediately followed, as a blessing principally procured by his means ; and spoke

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consequently both of his head and his heart in the most vehement terms of admiration: nor was their gratitude confined to words; they struck medals in honour of their deliverer, and sent over for statues of him, which they erected in their cities, with every testimony of the deepest respect, and the warmest affection. In short, distinguishing as the marks of public regard had been, which he formerly received on this side the water, still the instances of veneration which were now shewn him beyond the Atalantic, were carried so much farther, as to leave room for no possible increase, unless they actually worshipped him as a divinity.

It must, indeed, be allowed, that Mr. Pitt's arguments in favour of the repeal, had very great weight in the House of Commons; but it must also be allowed that there were many other gentlemen who distinguished themselves conspicuously in favour of the Americans. Among these, we must not forget the very able and accurate Mr. Charles Townshend, who spoke with a force of eloquence that was actually amazing, and a fund of information that seemed to be unlimited. This great man, during the agitation of the repeal, instead of contenting himself merely with the superficials of the subject, went to the very bottom of the debate; he maturely considered the importance of the colonies, the nature of their trade, and the form of their constitution: he then considered the impropriety of making those our most implacable enemies, who were inclined to be our most affectionate friends; and saw the injustice of which the Mother-Country was so scandalously guilty, when she trod a whole nation into
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the most abject set of slaves, who had, to the full, as strong a claim to freedom as herself. Upon the whole, Mr. Townshend had conversed with the most intelligent well-wishers both to the Mother-Country and the Colonies: his materials were admirable; and those who have ever heard him speak, need not be told what an additional force they acquired from the exquisite colouring of so masterly an orator. Indeed, Mr. Townshend himself acknowledged the pains he had been at to collect his materials; and, in a most elegant speech after the Stamp-Act was repealed, very visibly glanced at Mr. William Kelly, of New-York, as the person to whom he was principally indebted for his information. Mr. Kelly was a merchant of the first eminence at New-York, but had retired from business for some time, and lived independent on his fortune. He was, however, perfectly conversant with the mutual interest of Great-Britain and the Colonies, and, to an understanding naturally excellent, had joined all the advantages of an extensive experience. Antecedent to the repeal, he had been examined before the House of Commons about the affairs of America; and, though his examination continued almost four hours, he acquitted himself, through the whole, with a politeness, a perspicuity, and a manliness, that gained him the highest reputation from that illustrious assembly. The Americans, therefore, though they have great obligations to Mr. Pitt, should consider there are other gentlemen in the British parliament by whom they have been obliged, and consequently should not confine the returns of their gratitude to one particular personage; especially too as that personage does not wish to make

make a monopoly of praise, but has generosity enough to be contented with his own share of merit, without desiring to engross any part of what is due to his neighbours. But to quit unnecessary digression, and to go on with the principal subject:

The legality of general warrants coming on shortly after the repeal of the Stamp-Act, Mr. Pitt, in a very spirited manner, exclaimed against such arbitrary stretches of the ministerial power, notwithstanding he, at the same time, acknowledged that such warrants had been once issued under himself. He, however, observed, that the time in which they were thus issued by his own direction, was extremely critical, and the occasion no less extraordinary: it was during the war, when information had been given him of a suspicious foreigner, who was preparing to leave the kingdom. He said, that he had even then consulted his friend Mr. Pratt, the attorney-general, about the lawfulness of the affair, and was told that the action was illegal; but, said Mr. Pitt, “the safety of the nation required an instant dispatch, and I hazarded my head with pleasure, lest that safety should be any ways endangered by waiting for formalities.” There is a greatness of soul in this declaration, which cannot be sufficiently honoured; and notwithstanding Mr. Pitt’s enemies have repeatedly urged it as an argument of his inconsistency, it is nevertheless an inconsistency of so exalted a nature, as throws a much stronger lustre on his character, than if he had gone on for a whole life, in one undeviating round of the most punctual regularity.

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The parliament was no sooner prorogued, than an alteration in the ministry became the subject of public conversation; the ministers then in being, though they had obtained a repeal of the Stamp-Act; though they had procured a vote of condemnation in regard to general warrants; though they had obtained a change in the mode of levying the cyder-duty, and done several other acts which were extremely agreeable to the kingdom, nevertheless were far from being in high estimation with the people. They were supposed by a great many to be under the influence of lord Bute, and even benefits from his hand were utterly unacceptable. Others, who thought them uninfluenced, entertained but a small idea of their merit; and there was a third class of men, who, though they conceived very favourable sentiments of their integrity, had but a very narrow opinion of their abilities. Thus, notwithstanding their measures were universally approved, they themselves were no way respected; and that dear love of variety, which operates so much upon the mind of this infatuated country, rendering us still desirous of a change; the necessity of an alteration came at length to be considered, though it was rather a difficult circumstance to get a set of proper persons in their place. The public voice was loud for Mr. Pitt and lord Temple; but the latter not choosing to come in, as was supposed, unless his brother, Mr. G. G. was employed, and the former not choosing to be connected with that minister, an accommodation became impossible. Mr. Pitt, however, still maintained a much higher share in the public opinion than lord Temple. In fact, the

the principal part of his lordship's popularity resulted from his being formerly connected with Mr. Pitt, and throwing up the privy-seal, at the same time that the other threw up the secretaryship of state. Of course, therefore, there could be but little question in whose favour the beam of national partiality would turn, when the merits of both were contrasted. Accordingly Mr. Pitt had a thousand voices, where lord Temple had one; and there was scarcely a news-paper essayist, or a political writer in the kingdom, but what now declaimed upon the necessity of advancing this great man immediately to the principal office of government. An alteration, however, did not take place in the ministry, 'till the latter end of July. At this time the marquis of Rockingham was dismissed from the head of the Treasury, and was succeeded by the duke of Grafton. The duke had been Secretary of State during the greatest part of the last administration; but upon some disgust, or disappointment, he resigned the seals, which were given to his grace the duke of Richmond. The duke of Grafton's great abilities, however, recommending him to the more immediate attention of the sovereign, he was now appointed to the chief seat at the Treasury-board; Mr. Charles Townshend was made Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the room of Mr. Dowdeswell; lord Shelburne, Secretary of State, in the duke of Richmond's place; lord Camden succeeded the earl of Northington, as Lord Chancellor; and the earl of Winchelsea was dismissed, that the Presidency of the Council might be given to the earl of Northington. To compleat the whole, the Privy Seal was

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taken from the duke of Newcastle, and given to Mr. Pitt, who was ennobled at the same time, by the stile of viscount Pitt, of Pynsent-Burton, in the county of Somerset, and earl of Chatham.

I have now brought down Mr. Pitt's political life to the present hour; and though in the course of the foregoing sheets I have very frequently paid a just tribute of admiration to the greatness of his abilities, I have by no means let myself up as an advocate for all his proceedings. There have been undoubtedly some very palpable inconsistencies in his conduct, and his behaviour in regard to continental measures, is what his greatest partizans must rather think of extenuating; than endeavour to defend; but with all his inconsistencies, with all his errors, I may safely take upon me to say, that he has done more for this country than any other minister since our first existence as a people. Perfection is not the attribute of human nature, and great as my veneration for Mr. Pitt may be, it would only expose him to the ridicule of the world, should I foolishly strive to prove that he is wholly exempted from infirmities. It is praise enough for him, it is praise enough for any man to be the most able, the most upright minister that our annals have ever produced; and, if this share of reputation be candidly allowed him, I don't know that the most zealous of his admirers can possibly wish him a more exalted share of character. Those may talk of infallibility who look beyond the brittle lot of humanity for their heroes, but those who treat of merely mortal men, must give the palm

palm of excellence to such as possess the most virtues with the fewest imperfections.

As nothing is more fluctuating than the good opinion of the public, I am very well aware that at the present crisis there are numbers who were formerly the most strenuous admirers of Mr. Pitt, that look upon his acceptance of an earldom as a sort of suicide upon his reputation—the national mind like the individual, judges most commonly in extremes; receives mere conjectures for absolute certainty; and sets down every man as corrupt where it has once thought proper to suspect his virtue: without allowing for circumstances or times, and without comparing causes with events, ninety-nine in every hundred, determine finally on the conduct of every great man; and having once pronounced sentence admit of no appeal from the infallible tribunal of their own imagination; by this means the most deserving members of the community frequently sink into betrayers of their country; and he is very often extolled into a saviour of the public, who like another Erostratus, sets the Temple of virtue on flames.

The generality of people have for some time expected to see Mr. Pitt again restored to an active department in the government, where the principal management of all public business should rest immediately in his hands. While he remained in the House of Commons to oppose the establishment of arbitrary or unnecessary taxes, they looked upon their properties to be secure; and all they wanted was to see him placed in such an office as could procure us a proper degree of respect from those powers who have lately trifled with our representations,

and treated us with a most insuperable contempt. Deprived of their palladium, therefore, on the one hand, and disappointed in their expectations on the other; they begin to imagine that Mr. Pitt's patriotism, like the patriotism of many former ministers was entirely interested; and that under a specious affectation of zeal for the good of his country, he was only endeavouring at the establishment of his own welfare. For my own part I have as little inclination to varnish over an infamous action as any other man. Though Mr. Pitt's admirer, I am no way his idolater; and though I should be heartily sorry that any actual baseness could be proved in his conduct, still I should subscribe to the justness of his condemnation if I saw the least reason in the world for marking him with disgrace.

The gentlemen who are so highly offended with Mr. Pitt because he did not come into some active department of the administration; seem to think that he should be as totally exempted from bodily decays as from mental imperfections; they do not consider that this great man is now in the decline of life, that he has been long sinking under the almost unremitting severity of a dreadful disorder, and that for several times of late he has been carried into the House of Commons by his friends, wrapped up in flannels, and totally unable to stand where it was even necessary for him to speak upon the business of his country; they do not consider that rest and relaxation are now entirely requisite to give the short remainder of life some little taste of tranquillity. They do not recollect, that like other men he must be sensible of
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pain, and have ideas of pleasure; be desirous to avoid the stroke of adversity, and solicitous to bask a moment in the genial sunshine of content. On the contrary, attentive only to the narrow-minded considerations of their own interest, they will not allow him the smallest interval of repose; and instead of thanking him for the numberless blessings which they have already possessed through his means, they load him with obloquy and reproach, because he will not sacrifice himself entirely in their service, and breath out his very last in the Herculean labours of a fresh administration.

Had the gentlemen, however, who censure Mr. Pitt so highly for accepting only a sinecure in the government, been actuated by any principles either of gratitude or generosity, they would rather on this occasion rejoice than be offended with his determination; they would have been pleased that a man, who had done them such essential services, was now in a condition to reap some advantages for himself, and that in the evening of his days he found an honourable and easy means to provide for the advancement of his family; but no—his place, and his title are the infamous wages of corruption; they are not given him as rewards for past merits, but to prevent him from conferring future benefits on his country; and it is neither the consideration of health, nor the motive of happiness, by which he is influenced, but the paltry, the scandalous desire of accumulating wealth and honours for his posterity.

If gentlemen are really determined to shut their ears against the sense of conviction it is in vain for me to argue. But if by Mr. Pitt's past
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life we may be allowed to form any idea of his present conduct, there can be but little room to charge him either with being allured from the interest of his country, by the glitter of a title, or the advantages of a place. We all know extremely well when he enjoyed the paymaster'ship of the forces, notwithstanding the slenderness of his fortune at that time, he nevertheless threw up a very large share of those perquisites, which had always been considered as the indisputable due of his predecessors, and had been constantly enjoyed by the most disinterested of those gentlemen who ever held the place. We also know, that during the time of his administration, when the whole treasures of the kingdom were in a manner at his immediate disposal, his circumstances were remarkably moderate, and no expedients whatever were made use of to raise the opulence of his family. It cannot, therefore, be reasonably supposed that a man, who during his whole life has been notorious for his disregard of money, should now when his fortune is greatly increased become the slave of avarice, and to use a phrase which Mr. Pitt himself once applied to a well known commoner, "Launch out into sin in proportion as he wanted temptation." But let us even suppose that Mr. Pitt's health was no way impaired, and that in opposition to the general tenor of his former life, he is now become the most avaricious of mankind—still by this rule his accepting of the privy seal will be utterly inconsistent with the charge of avarice. An avaricious man would have greedily seized on that employment which appeared the best calculated to promote his interest; the difference
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of three or four thousand pounds a year in salary would be a matter of much importance to him ; to say nothing of the numberless offices which are in the gift of particular departments, and which a miserly mind might easily turn to a valuable account. If therefore, Mr. Pitt was able to go through the fatigues of business, every body will allow that he sacrificed his own interest by not accepting of a more lucrative employment than the privy seal, since every body acknowledges that he could have his choice of offices. A secretaryship of state, or the first seat in the treasury, had not only answered the purposes of his parsimony, but the ends of his popularity, and the acceptance of either would have equally promoted his interest and his reputation. Consequently, as he chose an employment so greatly inferior in value, we cannot suppose avarice to be the motive of his choice, and if we do not imagine him influenced by the love of money, to what end can we ascribe his conduct but to the natural decay of age, and the encrease of infirmities.

But had it been possible for Mr. Pitt to become the dupe of a certain unpopular nobleman, at the present period, what prevented him from listening to that nobleman's overtures when he threw up the seals in the year 1761. At that time, he might have made his own terms with the favourite, and at that time, the same title which has been now said to influence his conduct, was ready for his acceptance ; but he scorned to be the tool of any man—Nay, he threw up because he was not absolutely allowed to GUIDE ; and so far from behaving with any abjectness of spirit, the public were almost ready

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to acknowledge that he acted with too much. Mr. Pitt's consequence has been no way diminished since that period, nor has the favourite's importance received any encrease. On the contrary, Mr. Pitt's consideration has rather been enhanced; and the influence of the favourite, if any thing, has been lessened. From which it is no way unreasonable to infer, that if Mr. Pitt, when his circumstances were much less affluent, had pride enough to despise an accommodation with the unpopular nobleman, who was then in the zenith of his power, he has now a sufficient share of pride to despise an accommodation with him, when he (the favourite) is so *apparently* deprived of weight and authority.

But be matters as they may, it is still the indisputable duty of the public not to argue in a case of this important nature from mere conjecture, since gratitude as well as equity obliges us to wait for facts. A title is no way infamous but were it is conferred as the wages of corruption. Hitherto every body must acknowledge, that Mr. Pitt has deserved the highest reward for his public virtue; till we have some certain proof that he has received it for other purposes, let us justly as well as generously consider his as granted on that account. A readiness to suspect the principles of those who have been long eminent for their worth, may indicate our knowledge of the world, but it never will do any credit to the benignity of our hearts. Let us not for *fear* Mr. Pitt *may* forfeit his integrity, run into the very error we condemn, and madly relinquish all pretensions to honesty ourselves. Let us not rob a man who has saved us, our wives and our children from
inevitable

inevitable destruction, of what is much dearer to him than life, his reputation; nor be offended that he has now obtained, what we always thought he richly merited, a distinguished mark of approbation from his sovereign. On the contrary, let us rejoice, that the goodness of that sovereign has sanctified *our* esteem, and set so honourable a seal upon the affection of the public.

Inconsistency has been too long the character of this infatuated country, the instability of our temper is become an absolute proverb among our neighbours, and it is high time that we endeavour at establishing a different reputation: what must all the people of Europe think, what must the whole world think, when they find us in a flame, because the very first object of our regard has received such a mark of his majesty's favour, as we ourselves have continually wished him! Ever since his majesty's accession we have lamented that Mr. Pitt was not honoured with a principal share of the royal confidence; and that a ministry was not formed to that gentleman's approbation. He is now possessed of the royal confidence. A ministry is now formed to his wishes, and we are miserable. In short, without having done any thing in nature but complied with our most earnest desires, we rob him at once of our confidence; and instead of sympathizing with those infirmities which render him unable to undergo an excess of fatigue, his very misfortunes become criminal, and we exclaim against his want of health as an actual want of affection for his country. The felon at our bar, though seized in the very act of rapine; the murderer

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in our dungeons, though reeking from the effusion of blood, are nevertheless judged innocent by the lenity of our laws, till they are judically convicted of crimes: but the man who has greatly served the state, who has not only snatched it from the most certain destruction, but raised it to an unexampled height of glory, is condemned without a hearing; is sacrificed without a proof; his acceptance of those honours which we ourselves judge to be his due, is his guilt; and we take away more than his fortune, and his life, because he has gratified our warmest inclinations. While this is the justice, while this is the gratitude of England, every man who wishes well to his own interest, or honour, must be fearful of engaging in her cause; must shudder at standing up in her defence; and the general run of ministers will think themselves even justified in betraying her most essential regards, when disgrace and execration are the only returns which those are to expect who serve her with the greatest fidelity.

But among all the infamous instruments of faction who have endeavoured to prejudice Mr. Pitt in the interest of his country—*The author of an Enquiry into the conduct of a late Right honourable Commoner*, is principally entitled to our contempt and detestation, for the impenetrable dulness of his head, and the inveterate malignity of his temper. Without the most distant appearance, either of understanding or honesty, he takes upon him to pronounce decisively on every part of Mr. Pitt's conduct; and obtruding the scandalous forgeries of his own rancour, for so many indisputable facts; he candidly draws conclusions from premises which never
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had any existence but in the execrable sty of his own imagination. From the paltry, bald, inaccurate, and even ungrammatical manner in which this wretched little pamphlet is written, I should be ready to set it down as the prostitute production of some bookseller's hireling, who wanted to make a few shillings by the prejudices which the public so unjustly entertain against Mr. Pitt, on account of his advancement to a coronet; but as from the extravagance of encomium with which lord Temple is treated through the whole; and from the account of a private conversation between that nobleman and Mr. Pitt, I have some reason to think, that, miserable as the scribbler is, he has been employed by somebody of more consequence than virtue, and more vindictiveness than understanding, I shall consider the performance in question with a gravity to which it is very little entitled, either on account of the language or arguments.

The ingenious author of this delicate piece, lays it down as an uncontrovertable principle, "that whenever a man espouses what is called a patriotic party, he should bind himself eternally to one set of men, and support them upon every occasion, notwithstanding they may act in diametrical opposition to the principles of his own reason, or the palpable interest of his country." Unless he does this, he must forfeit, according to our author, all pretensions to character, and must sink, with the common herd of mock public spirits, who are shifting with every wind, and studious only to raise their own emolument by a seeming attachment to the welfare of the kingdom.

With all possible deference, however, to the opinion of this worthy gentleman, I must beg leave to dissent from him very widely on this occasion. Agreeable to my sense of patriotism, no man should attach himself blindly to a party, or, merely because he voted with one set of men upon some occasions, think it an indispensable duty never to join with others in a subsequent question. The man who is actuated by so ridiculous a principle, is a slave much more than a patriot, and, for my part, I should never be for trusting any person with the liberty of my country, who had no liberty of his own. A man who would really deserve the exalted appellation of a patriot, must not be governed by any contracted notions, nor form his idea of measures merely by the criterion of men. If a salutary measure happens to be proposed by his most inveterate enemy, 'tis his invariable business to support it; and, if an injudicious proposal should at any time be made, he is obliged, in his conscience, to combat it with his utmost force, though the proposer should happen to be his most valuable friend. To say, therefore, that Mr. Pitt, upon some occasions, deserted the cause of his friends, without proving that such a desertion was injurious to the general welfare, is only saying, that he preferred the interest of the public to the dearest connexions of a private nature; and to say that he sometimes supported the measures of lord Bute, or his greatest enemies, is only saying, that he sacrificed his resentments, as well as his affections, to promote the real service of his country. This, in my mind, is the highest encomium which possibly can be paid him; and surely nothing could

could be so unlucky for our miserable pamphleteer, as to lay the foundation of a criminal charge upon a candour of conduct, which must do such prodigious honour to the object of his accusation.

The pamphleteer, however, will by no means allow that this laudable tergiversation, as I may call it, in Mr. Pitt, proceeded from any thing but a secret lust of power, and an absolute venality of temper; for, with a degree of consistency hardly to be matched in the extensive circuits of Grubstreet, he tells us, in his 16th page, that, “ ever wishing to attain and pre-
 “ serve power, by any sacrifice, or any means,
 “ and finding, soon after the accession of his
 “ present majesty, that the earl of Bute was in
 “ possession of the royal ear, he (Mr. Pitt) was
 “ the first, and principal instrument of that no-
 “ ble lord’s introduction to power, particularly
 “ to the post of secretary of state, and co-
 “ adjutor to himself; which shews, as clearly
 “ as any thing can, his early and close connex-
 “ ion with the favourite. And upon what prin-
 “ ciple could this be done, but the hope of
 “ thereby laying the foundation of security to
 “ himself.”

Without taking up my reader’s attention, by animadverting on the happy disregard of grammar in this beautiful quotation, I shall only point out the glaring inconsistency contained in the assertion. In the first place he tells us,
 “ that after lord Bute was in full possession of
 “ the royal ear, Mr. Pitt was the first and prin-
 “ cipal instrument of that noble lord’s intro-
 “ duction to power.” Now as lord Bute, agreeable to our author’s own confession, was
 possessed

possessed of the royal ear before his advancement to office, it must naturally follow, that Mr. Pitt's friendship was utterly unnecessary to his lordship's preferment. By enjoying the royal ear, he enjoyed the royal confidence of course, and therefore stood in no need of protection or recommendation. But it seems, upon the whole, that it is Mr. Pitt who stands in need of friendship, and not the earl of Bute; for Mr. Pitt recommends this man, who wants no recommendation, merely to support the foundation of his own influence, which, about this time, begins very visibly to give way. This is still worse; for if Mr. Pitt's own interest stood in need of a support, it cannot be supposed he would have weight enough to establish the interest of other people. Contradictions of this nature are so palpable, that I am astonished how ignorance itself can possibly suffer them to escape, especially where the leaden eyelids of that ignorance are continually kept open by the ever-wakeful hand of malignity.

The pleasantest part, however, of this scribber's assertion, is where he talks of Mr. Pitt's "ever wishing to attain and preserve power by any sacrifice, or any means." Had this charge the least foundation either in likelihood or fact, I dare say the public would have been long since informed of the grounds upon which it was built: the numberless writers who, upon Mr. Pitt's resignation, took up the pen against him, and who were supposed to be made perfectly acquainted with every thing that could depreciate him in the opinion of the public, never insinuated that he was turned out of office by the power of the favourite, or even distantly hinted that he
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had offered to make any sacrifice for the preservation of his place. On the contrary, the torrent of their censure was directed in quite a contrary course. They never exclaimed against his meanness, but his pride; and so far from telling us of his inclination to temporize, they continually stunn'd us with his insolence and ambition, in presuming perpetually to *guide*. Which therefore shall we believe, the charge of presumption, or the charge of servility? And which shall we credit, the writers who talk about the ungovernable obstinacy, or the slavish ductility of his temper? It is impossible he should both refuse his place, and solicit it; and it is no way likely, from lord Bute's subsequent conduct, that he would have displaced Mr. Pitt, had Mr. Pitt been, in the very decent language of our author, "ever wishing to attain power by any sacrifice, or any means." In the name of wonder, if the Great Commoner was capable of becoming such an infamous tool, for the sake of preserving his place, what could possibly induce him to give it up?—If it was worth lord Bute's while to come up to his price now, it was worth his lordship's while then, to have gratified his avarice or ambition; and he would scarcely have exposed himself to such a load of universal obloquy, out of a particular aversion to the man, if he had found the statesman so tractable to all his wishes as he is represented by the ingenious performance in dispute. To reconcile, as far as he can, the manifest contradiction of this unfortunate passage, he thus goes on in his very next paragraph:

"When the favourite had gained the ascendancy, and had formed designs incompatible
 " with

“ with the honour of the crown, and the inter-
 “ rest of the kingdom; when he had drawn
 “ the substance and the shadow of strength like-
 “ wise from the Great Commoner, and defeated
 “ him also in his mighty design upon Spain;
 “ then, even then, notwithstanding this insult,
 “ and many others, such was either his lust for
 “ office, or his friendship for the favourite,
 “ that he would have sacrificed his haughty
 “ over-bearing spirit to a sufferance of remain-
 “ ing in office, and submitted to a controul
 “ not only contradictory of all his former prin-
 “ ciples, but infamous in the eyes of the pub-
 “ lic: had it not been for the spirited and truly
 “ patriotic resentment of his most noble friend
 “ and relation earl Temple, who, with a mag-
 “ nanimity almost peculiar to himself, disdained
 “ to wear the chains, or put on the livery of
 “ such an incompetent statesman, such a con-
 “ temptible being; and at first strongly urged,
 “ and at length FORCED the COMMONER into
 “ resignation, which he accompanied with his
 “ own, to give an example of spirit and re-
 “ sistance to an usurpation so exceedingly dan-
 “ gerous to both court and people.”

Here, gentle reader, we have another feat
 of Hocus-pocus.—Our author’s arguments, like
 Sterling’s Garden in the Clandestine Marriage,
 are *crinkum crankum*, zig-zag, *here and there, to*
and again; so that we can never see farther into
 his meaning than into the serpentine sweeps of
 that money-loving citizen.—Yet, surely, it is a
 little odd that Mr. Pitt, who in the first quota-
 tion was so ready to make *any* sacrifice for the
 preservation of his office, would in the second
 suffer himself to be *forced* out of place, merely

to gratify the resentments of lord Temple.— Here, to argue upon the author's own principles, and to admit that Mr. Pitt's resignation was entirely the result of lord Temple's advice, yet, we find the resignation, at any rate, totally repugnant to the positive assertion in regard to Mr. Pitt's everlasting readiness of making *any* sacrifice, rather than forego the advantages of his place. Here, we see, that to oblige a friend, he could on the contrary sacrifice the master-wish of his heart, according to our author; and even break, in the most public manner, with the very favourite whom he was so tremblingly fearful of offending, rather than give the worthy lord, his brother-in-law, the least foundation for complaint. What a pity is it, that lord Temple would not take example by the conduct of Mr. Pitt, and shew an equal degree of regard for the illustrious commoner. Private conversations had not then been shamefully tortured into a thousand time-serving forms; nor had the sacred communications of inviolable secrecy been wire-drawn into meanings no less repugnant to truth, than shameful to generosity. The galled horse, however, will wince, and we must naturally allow those people to speak a little, who feel a great deal. Mr. Pitt, not choosing to employ the miserable financier, who would destroy our colonies for a pepper-corn; and, not caring any longer to support his lordship's little-minded resentments, at the expence of his country, 'tis no wonder that the illustrious earl should now squirt his impotent invectives, even at a friend, and a brother, who had so unpardonably prevented the gratification of his revenge. Unfortunately, however, he knows the great

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commoner is perfectly acquainted with his motives, and that none, but the very canaille, indeed, will forbear to behold the proceeding with contempt. But, I beg the reader's pardon for a digression of so little importance, and shall go on with my examination of our accurate author.

As, from the 16th to the 31st page, the writer's whole aim is to shew, that lord Bute was continually soliciting the return of this man to government, who would sacrifice *any thing* for a place, and even, going in disguise, at midnight, to his house, in order to effect that capital design, I shall proceed, at once, to the principles of the late change in the ministry, when Mr. Pitt thought proper to come in; the substance of the whole thirty-seven pages being already answered in my animadversion on the passages, which I extracted immediately from the performance. In the thirty-seventh page the author comes to close quarters, and I must, therefore, be pretty cautious how I manage my argument, for fear of being foiled by so material a casuist.

“ We come now, (says our pamphleteer) to
 “ this last *negotiation*; the grand criterion by
 “ which the disinterested, honest public will
 “ judge of the Great Commoner's character,
 “ assisted in some measure, as they doubtless
 “ will be, by the several irrefutable facts already
 “ related; many of which naturally lead, and
 “ tend to an explanation of this Great, and to
 “ the world, unexpected event. A *negotiation*
 “ instituted by the Favourite, and carried on by
 “ the noble Lawyer lately removed from his own
 “ department to another high office in the state,
 “ and hastened, too, by embracing of the first
 “ opportunity to scatter the seeds of discord in
 “ the

“ the cabinet, and from thence to pronounce
 “ the incapacity and weakness of the supposed
 “ Ministers. The error last year had been in
 “ consulting lord Temple *first*. This year ano-
 “ ther method was taken, Mr. Pitt was *first* ap-
 “ plied to; and after that gentleman had a con-
 “ ference first with the late lord Chancellor, and
 “ then with his M. lord Temple was sent for,
 “ who directly after his coming to town, waited
 “ on his M. at Richmond. Next day (July 16,
 “ 1766) his lordship received a very affectionate
 “ letter from Mr. Pitt, then at North-End,
 “ Hampstead, desiring to see his lordship there,
 “ as his health would not permit him to come
 “ to town, His lordship went, and Mr. Pitt
 “ acquainted him, that his M. had been graci-
 “ ously pleased to send for him to form an ad-
 “ ministration; and as he thought his lordship
 “ *indispensable*, he desired his M. to send for
 “ him, and to put him at the head of the Trea-
 “ sury; and that he himself would take the post
 “ of Privy Seal. The Commoner then pro-
 “ duced a list of several persons, which he said
 “ *he* had fixed upon to go in with his lordship;
 “ and which he added was not to be altered.
 “ Lord Temple said, that he had had the honour
 “ of a conference with his M. at Richmond the
 “ evening before, and that he did not under-
 “ stand from what passed between them, that
 “ Mr. Pitt was to be *absolute Master*, and to
 “ form *every part* of the administration; if he
 “ had, he would not have given himself the
 “ trouble of coming to Mr. Pitt upon that sub-
 “ ject, being determined to come in upon an
 “ *equality* with Mr. Pitt, in case he was to oc-
 “ cupy the most responsible place under the

“ government. And as Mr. Pitt had chosen
 “ only a *Side Place*, without any responsibility
 “ annexed to it, he should insist upon some of
 “ his friends being in the Cabinet Offices with
 “ him, and in whom he could confide; which
 “ he thought Mr. Pitt could have no objection
 “ to, as he must be sensible he could not come
 “ in with honour, unless he had such nomina-
 “ tion; nor did he desire, but that Mr. Pitt
 “ should have his share of the nomination of *his*
 “ friends. And his lordship added, that he
 “ made a *sacrifice* of his brother, Mr. George
 “ Grenville, who notwithstanding his being en-
 “ tirely out of place, and excluded from all
 “ connection with the intended system, would
 “ nevertheless, support the measures of their
 “ administration: that it was his idea to concia-
 “ liate all parties, which was the ground that
 “ had made Mr. Pitt’s former administration so
 “ respectable and glorious, and to form upon
 “ the solid basis of *Union*, an able and respon-
 “ sible administration, to brace the relaxed
 “ sinews of government, retrieve the honour of
 “ the crown, and pursue the permanent interest
 “ of the public. But that if Mr. Pitt insisted
 “ upon a superior dictation, and did not chuse
 “ to join in a plan designed for the restoration
 “ of that *Union*, which at no time was ever so
 “ necessary, he desired the conference might be
 “ broke off, and that Mr. Pitt would give him-
 “ self no further trouble about him, for that he
 “ would not submit to the proposed condi-
 “ tions.

“ Mr. Pitt, however, insisted upon continu-
 “ ing the conference; and asked, who those
 “ persons were whom his lordship intended for
 “ some

“ some of the cabinet employments? His lord-
 “ ship answered, that one in particular, was a
 “ noble lord of approved character, and known
 “ abilities, who had last year refused the very
 “ office now offered to him [lord Temple]
 “ though pressed to it in the strongest manner,
 “ by the duke of Cumberland, and the duke of
 “ Newcastle; and who being their common
 “ friend, he did not doubt Mr. Pitt himself had
 “ in contemplation. This worthy and respect-
 “ able person was lord Lyttelton. At the con-
 “ clusion of this sentence, Mr. Pitt said, Good
 “ God, how can you compare him to the duke
 “ of Grafton, lord Shelburne, and Mr. Conway?
 “ Besides, said he, *I have taken the privy seal,*
 “ and he cannot have that. Lord Temple then
 “ mentioned the post of lord president: upon
 “ which Mr. Pitt said, that could not be, for
 “ he had engaged the precedency: but says he,
 “ lord Lyttelton *may have a pension.* To which
 “ lord Temple immediately answered, that will
 “ never do; nor would he stain the bud of his
 “ administration with an accumulation of pen-
 “ sions. It is true, Mr. Pitt vouchsafed to per-
 “ mit the noble lord to nominate his own board;
 “ but at the same time insisted, that if two per-
 “ sons of that board, (Thomas Townshend, and
 “ George Onslow, esqrs.) were turned out, they
 “ should have a compensation, i. e. *pensions.*
 “ Mr. Pitt next asked, what person his lord-
 “ ship had in his thoughts for secretary of state?
 “ His lordship answered, lord Gower, a man of
 “ great abilities, and whom he knew to be
 “ equal to any Mr. Pitt had named, and of
 “ much greater alliance; and in whom he meant
 “ and hoped to unite and conciliate a great and
 “ powerful

“ powerful party, in order to widen and
 “ strengthen the bottom of his administration,
 “ and to vacate even the idea of opposition;
 “ thereby to restore unanimity in parliament,
 “ and confine every good man’s attention to
 “ the real objects of his country’s welfare.
 “ And his lordship added, that he had never
 “ imparted his design to lord Gower, nor did he
 “ know whether that noble lord would accept
 “ of it*, but mentioned it now, only as a com-
 “ prehensive measure, to attain the great end
 “ he wished, of restoring unanimity by a re-
 “ conciliation of parties, that the business of the
 “ nation might go on without interruption, and
 “ become the only business of parliament. But
 “ Mr. Pitt rejected this proposal, evidently *heal-*
 “ *ing* as it appeared, by saying, that he had de-
 “ termined Mr. Conway should stay in his pre-
 “ sent office, and that he had lord Shelburne to
 “ propose for the other office, then held by the
 “ duke of Richmond; so that there remained
 “ no room for lord Gower. This lord Temple
 “ said, was coming to his first proposition of
 “ being sole and absolute dictator, to which no
 “ consideration should ever induce him to sub-
 “ mit. And therefore he insisted upon ending
 “ the conference; which he did with saying,
 “ That if he had been first called upon by the
 “ K. he should have consulted Mr. Pitt’s ho-
 “ nour, with regard to the arrangements of mi-
 “ nisters, and have given him an equal share in
 “ the nomination; and that he thought himself
 “ ill-treated by Mr. Pitt, in his not observing
 “ the like conduct.

* Lord Temple afterwards wrote to lord Gower, to excuse the mention he made of his name.

The great point which the public have to consider on this occasion is, the welfare of the kingdom; and therefore the question will naturally be which of the two was the most competent judge, or the most strenuous friend of that welfare, lord Temple or Mr. Pitt. Lord Temple, though he has possessed some very considerable offices in the government, has never been remarkable for any astonishing share of abilities; and till his resignation with Mr. Pitt on the first accession of his present majesty, he was looked upon merely as an inoffensive good-natured nobleman, who had a very fine seat, and was always ready to indulge any body with a walk in his garden, or look at his furniture; how he has suddenly commenced such a statesman as to be put in competition with Mr. Pitt, is what I am at a loss to determine; but this I will take upon me to say, that had he not fastened himself into Mr. Pitt's train, and acquired by his affinity such an interest in the history of that great man, he might have crept out of life with as little notice as he crept in, and gone off with no other degree of credit than that of adding a single unit to the bills of mortality. Had I an inclination to gratify any malicious merriness of temper, I have here an opportunity of being extremely pleasant with his lordship—I might call upon the pamphleteer to give me a single instance in which this kingdom ever received any one benefit at his hands; I might ask him in what those wonderful qualifications consist which render him a proper person to appoint half the great officers of the government; and I might ask if it was not even a stretch of Mr.
Pitt's

Pitt's unremitting friendship and brotherly affection to nominate this mighty man himself to a place of such consequence as the first seat of the treasury; for my part I really think this one of Mr. Pitt's greatest errors; and I do not know but some future writer may use it as an object of the severest animadversion.

When the intelligent reader comes therefore to consider the case coolly; when he reflects that the greatest lustre of this nobleman's character proceeds from his basking in the meridian blaze of Mr. Pitt's reputation; and when he in fact, recollects, that his being an earl, and possessing an ample estate, are the only advantages which he can boast above the common classes of men; I say when the reader recollects all this, he will think with me that the noble lord in dispute had much more reason to be thankful that he himself was to be employed in so capital an office, than cause to be offended at being denied the privilege of appointing any body else. Men of moderate abilities have no right to extraordinary indulgences; yet such is the weakness of human nature, that instead of a modest consciousness of our incapacity we always demand that regard which we receive entirely from the goodness of our friends, as a justice due to our own merit; and set that down as the result of our own intrinsic worth, which in fact is the mere effect of their civility. So far therefore is Mr. Pitt to be censured for refusing lord Temple a liberty of nominating half the great officers, that lord Temple must in my mind entertain a very extraordinary opinion of himself before he could have temerity enough to think of requiring such a nomination.

nation. I shall readily grant the pamphleteer, that had his lordship been a man of Mr. Pitt's abilities and consideration in the state, it would have been wrong to deny him any mark of deference which was shewn that gentleman; but when he was not coming in, in consequence of his own deserts, but rising entirely upon the weight of his brother-in-law's influence, it would be madness to strip that brother-in-law of the justice which was due to his superior worth, merely for the sake of placing it in incompetent hands: what signifies mincing matters; the noble lord in question, had proved his incompetency in the American Stamp-Act, and to mend the matter, was even making a merit of *not* employing his brother Mr. G. G——, one of the most unfortunate statesmen that had ever been seen in this kingdom. His lordship of course was a pretty judge of merit; and to be sure, nothing could be more judicious than to think of setting him in competition with the illustrious commoner.

Having thus replied to the pamphleteer, in relation to the patron's demand of nominating half the great officers, I shall now conclude, with a general observation upon what he says in regard to lord Temple's proposal, "being a *healing*" "one, and likely to reconcile the differences so" "long and so unhappily subsisting between the" "great people of this kingdom." The pamphleteer tells us, "that lord Temple wanted to" "unite all parties, and had no dislike whatsoever to any set of men." If this be the case, why did he refuse joining with the administration which Mr. Pitt had nominated? The duke of Grafton was surely a person of as much abili-

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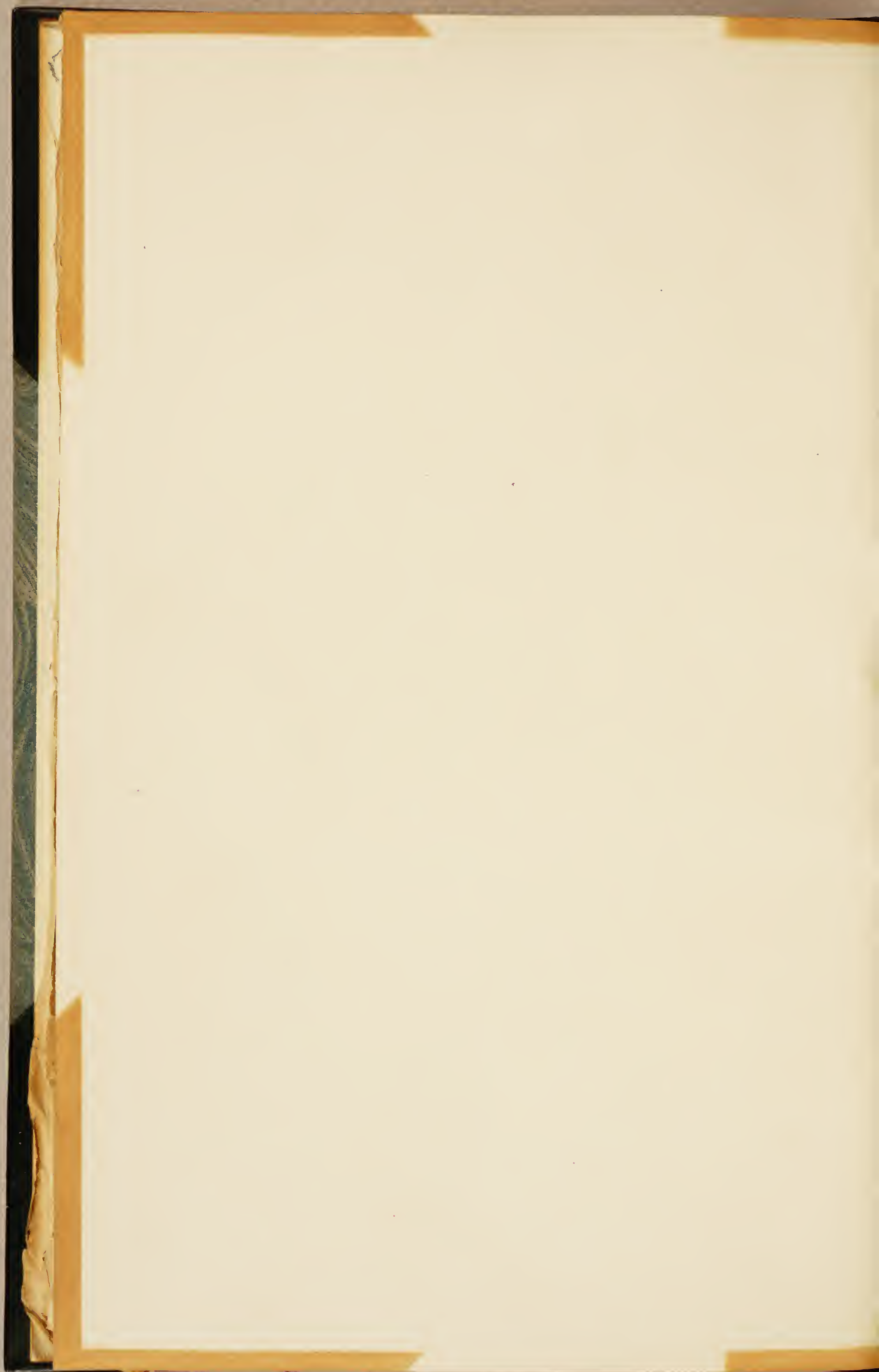
ties as lord Lyttleton; and the earl of Shelburne, without any offence to lord Gower, was, at least, a man of as much consequence as his lordship. Of course therefore, the *bottom* of lord Temple's administration would have been as *broad* with these two noblemen as with the earl Gower and lord Lyttleton; so that, if it was the public interest by which lord Temple was actuated, he must have been greatly unmindful, or greatly ignorant of it, to insist upon a partial appointment of officers. But the truth is, lord Temple had for four or five years heard himself constantly mentioned with Mr. Pitt, and through some unaccountable fatality, imagined himself a man of equal consequence. Hence, though according to the pamphleteer, *he had no objection to any party, and wanted to conciliate all*, he would not come into government without choosing his own set of men, and establishing an opposition himself, by way of removing all opposition in every other quarter. Happily, however, Mr. Pitt, who was best acquainted with his lordship's capacity, would not suffer so many principal employments to lie at his mercy. The public are highly obliged to him, and when they recollect who is at the head of the Treasury now, I dare say, there are but very few who will feel any concern at lord Temple's refusing to come in without a liberty of nominating to one half of the offices. Upon the whole, notwithstanding lord Temple's affected repugnance to the earl of Bute, that patriotic nobleman, we see, was ready to join what his pamphleteer stigmatizes as the favourite's party, if he could have obtained but the disposal of two or three places.

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He was ready, our author says, very candidly, to join *any* set of men; and so far from being desirous to support a party against the mighty object of his aversion lord Bute, he wanted to remove the very idea of parties, and was most earnestly solicitous to reconcile all. Admitting therefore, what has not yet appeared, that Mr. Pitt has actually joined the earl of Bute, has he done more than what the incorruptible lord his brother-in-law (agreeable to the representation of his own despicable eulogist,) was eagerly inclined to do, though he now exclaims so vehemently against Mr. Pitt on that very account, and mentions his behaviour as a most infamous instance of ambition and venality!

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